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The influence of the liturgy on Middle English literature : some problems and possible applications, with special reference to Pearl and Cleanness.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LITURGY ON MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE: SOME PROBLEMS AND POSSIBLE APPLICATIONS, with special reference to *Pearl* and *Cleanness*.

BY

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ABSTRACT.

The study of liturgical influence on works of Middle English literature is not new, particularly where a work juxtaposes different passages of Scripture in an unusual way. Through its thematic choice of Scripture on feast-days or during the Church's year, the liturgy can help to explain these juxtapositions. However, in studying the liturgy, Middle English scholars have so far relied on the work of the nineteenth-century liturgiologists, who, for historical reasons, were interested in the most elaborate forms of late medieval ritual, as found in the printed service-books of the sixteenth century.

The first part of the thesis, therefore, seeks to provide liturgical information of specific use to Middle English scholars. First, the various elements of the medieval liturgy are described, including those which have not so far received much attention from scholars of English literature, such as the Common of Saints and the responsaries at Matins. Secondly, the thesis examines the distribution of the main "secular" rites, Sarum, York and Hereford, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and provides a comparative lectionary for them. A working handlist of manuscripts, comprehensive as far as the present state of knowledge permits, is also provided. The possible role of the rites of the monastic and religious Orders is briefly examined.

The second part of the thesis makes use of this material in interpreting two literary texts. The Common of Virgins is used to throw light upon the presentation of the maiden in *Pearl*, with special emphasis on her crown. The liturgy for Lent and Eastertide is related to the poem *Cleanness*, in an attempt to provide a key to its otherwise unclear structure; this section draws on readings and responsaries at Matins, and also on liturgical commentary and Mass homilies.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION.

I hereby certify that the material contained in this thesis is entirely the product of my own work, without any collaboration with, or assistance from, others.

I further certify that the views expressed in this thesis are my own views and not those of the University of Bristol.

Santha Bhattacharji.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. The problem posed by the literature.

The structure of medieval works is often puzzling to modern readers: the association of ideas or the juxtaposition of material may be unexpected. This is particularly noticeable when a work deals with Biblical material, which has its own arrangement, often a roughly chronological one, within the books of the Old and New Testaments.

For example, the whole principle of organization of *Piers Plowman*, a poem drawing heavily on Biblical material, has been hotly debated for at least the last forty years.[1] Similarly, a much shorter poem, *Cleanness*, one of the poems of the *Pearl*-manuscript (BL Cotton Nero A. x.), has also baffled readers through its apparently eccentric choice of Biblical episodes for renarration.[2] Even so finely-wrought a poem as *Pearl* itself raises some problems of construction and of choice of material. What is the function, scholars have asked themselves, of the elaborate description of the heavenly Jerusalem near the end of the poem? It balances the description of Paradise near the beginning; it establishes the Peal-maiden in her heavenly home; but does it not do so at excessive length? Is there any necessary connection between it and the subject-matter of the rest of the work? P. M. Kean, for example, describes this passage as "an

effective set piece" but thinks that it does not engage the poet's "concentrated attention",[3] while, following her, A. C. Spearing feels that during this long description the symbolism and narrative of the poem are interrupted.[4]

The same problem can be found even within a very short work. An example is discussed at some length by R. T. Davies in his study of the Corpus Christi play,[5] where he comments on the apparent disjointedness of the Chester play of Abraham and Isaac:

> "... this Melchizedek part of the Chester Abraham and Isaac play, though in itself quite impressive in performance, makes an odd combination with the sacrifice of Isaac despite a connecting passage. In this passage, God promises to help Abraham, because he is pleased with what he has done, and Abraham then asks for a son. Perhaps it is in order to occupy symbolically the time for Isaac to be born and grow that there then follows a confusing section about the race that will descend from Abraham and culminate in Jesus and about the need for Abraham's people to be circumcised. But, disjointed though this play is, the prophecy about the progeny of Abraham joins this part of the Corpus Chrisi play to the later parts by looking forward to the Incarnation." [6]

In this particular case, some of the confusion is dispersed if we turn to the Biblical source: the play follows the Biblical order of events concerning the story of Isaac, but without the interruptions caused by the story of Hagar and Ishmael and by the destruction of Sodom. The play thus corresponds approximately to Gen. 14:11-20, 15:1-6, 17:1-14, and 22:1-19, and this perhaps explains its inclusion of the "connecting passage" and the later "confusing section". However, we are still left with the two apparently unconnected episodes of Melchizedech and the actual sacrifice of Isaac, so that the basic structural problem

remains. Moreover, we now face a further question: why were the two omitted narratives, both highly dramatic, not also depicted in the Corpus Christi play? What is the principle of selection, if any, governing the Old Testament plays of any of the extant Cycles? Simply turning to the Bible does not seem to provide an answer.

2. Why look to the liturgy?

This impression, of disjointedness and interruption in the handling of biblical material, is thus not an uncommon one for the modern reader, and it raises the question of whether the medieval audience simply had different tastes from our own, or whether there is some hidden key, or keys, to these structural difficulties. Before deciding whether the liturgy can provide a possible explanation for some strange combinations of material, we have first to consider briefly what other keys might be available.

Scholars have long been conscious, for instance, of the light that the Biblical context of a scriptural quotation can throw on a passage. Walter Skeat, as long ago as 1887, appended an index of "Quotations made by the author" to his edition of *Piers Plowman*,[7] tracing many of Langland's Latin tags to sources in the Vulgate, mostly to the Gospels and the Psalms. This work has been more recently updated by Anne H. Fuller,[8] who provides a

useful example of how awareness of the Biblical context can deepen the overtones of a Scriptural reference: she traces the line "For sothest worde that evere god seyde. was tho he seyde nemo bonus" [9] not to Psalm 13:3 (A.V. 14:4), as had Skeat, but to Luke 18:19, "Quid me dicis bonum? nemo bonus nisi solus deus" (words of Christ to the rich young man who turned away). In the context of the extended discussion of goodness in passus 10, the line takes on tremendous force from its reference to actual words of Jesus (as opposed to words of the psalmist), and to this particular Gospel incident.

This consciousness of Biblical context led scholars into a related field, that of medieval commentaries on the Scriptures. A key study here was Robertson and Huppé's *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition*,[10] which provoked in its turn studies both agreeing and disagreeing with the whole application of Patristic exegesis to the criticism of medieval works.[11] These two areas, of Biblical context and medieval commentary, have already done much to interpret many puzzling allusions, particularly in a work full of rather abruptly introduced quotations such as *Piers Plowman*.

Since the substance of the liturgy in the Western Church is composed of passages from Scripture and, at Matins,[12] of passages from Scriptural commentaries, one may at first wonder what the liturgy, as such, has to contribute that is in any way new or distinctive.

The answer lies in the particular way in which passages of Scripture are juxtaposed in order to illustrate the theme of a feast or of a liturgical season. Through its varying choice of texts, the liturgy enables the Church to explore a succession of themes during the course of the year. Rather than simply reading through the Bible in its usual order, at certain times the Church selects passages from different parts of the Bible to illustrate the distinctive message of, say, Christmas Day or Ascension Day, or to set the mood and focus for a season lasting several weeks, such as Advent (leading up to Christmas), Lent (preparing for Easter), or Eastertide (culminating in the feast of Pentecost). It is this thematic juxtaposition of passages from different parts of the Bible that can perhaps throw light on works of English literature, as the liturgy is able to provide an implicit, unifying context for elements which may otherwise seem haphazardly assembled.

The liturgy is, moreover, a more readily available source for both writers and audience in the fourteenth century than either the Bible in itself or Biblical commentaries. The two latter both require regular access to books. Indeed, if we picture a medieval writer working from his own browsing in written texts, as a modern author might do, the Patristic and Biblical allusions to be found in many medieval works would suggest for many writers a quite remarkable degree of erudition and the availability of an extensive range of books, these being assumed to be either in the writer's own possession or in the

library of, for example, a College or a Religious Community. The kind of contacts and education suggested are explored by Edmund Colledge and James Walsh in their examination of the writings of Julian of Norwich.[13] The liturgy, however, through its recurring round of Scriptural and Biblical extracts, would make a wide selection of passages available aurally to any who had enough Latin to understand them, and these could be heard every Sunday, possibly even daily, in every church in the land. Mass homilies, commenting on the readings and preached in the vernacular, would help to disseminate this material even further.

3. Liturgical influences on Middle English literature: some existing studies.

The particular contribution of the liturgy is illustrated most illuminatingly by Raymond St.-Jacques, in his important article 'The Liturgical Associations of Langland's Samaritan'.[14] He points out that the structural unity of Passus 17-18 in *Piers Plowman* can only be maintained if the Samaritan episode can be inherently related to the Abraham-Faith and Law-Hope figures, who are introduced just before the Samaritan, as well as to the themes of Christ's Passion and Incarnation, which dominate the next section of the poem. These relationships are not obvious from the Scriptural context (Luke 10: 30-35); and while standard Scriptural commentaries, such as those of Augustine, Bede and Origen, offer some help, none seems to cover all the details.

All the necessary connotations, however, are found in the liturgy for the Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity. Despite later criticism from Miceál Vaughan, who follows up Langland's own reference to Mid-Lent Sunday in line B.16:172,[15] St.-Jacques' argument has a persuasive neatness and clarity. On the Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, the Gospel, Luke 10: 23-35, includes some preliminary verses on faith and seeing, and is combined with the Epistle, Galatians 3: 16-22, which concerns the promise given to Abraham's seed, and distinguishes promise from law. The thematic links between the Epistle and Gospel are brought out by reference to medieval liturgical commentators, such as Rupert of Deutz, Sicard of Cremona and Durandus of Mende. Thus, St.-Jacques makes a convincing case in this paper partly through his method: he examines Scriptural context and commentary first, then turns to the liturgy to see what it can add by its juxtaposition of Scriptural passages, and supports his interpretation of this material by showing that the same insights were present in the standard liturgical commentaries of the time.

St.-Jacques is not the only critic to have looked to the liturgy for solutions to literary problems in the past twenty or thirty years. M. Ray Adams [16] and Greta Hort [17] were both keen to demonstrate Langland's familiarity with the Breviary. Subsequently, the overall structure of *Piers Plowman* has been linked to the unfolding of the Church's liturgical year by several scholars: P. Di Pasquale, taking the Rogation-day processions as his starting-point, has constructed a May to May cycle for the

poem,[18] while against him, R. E. Kaske postulates an Advent to Advent cycle, basing his argument on the use of Advent themes in the last Passus.[19] Robert Adams argues against the use of the liturgical year at all, but admits the influence of Passiontide and Easter on B. Passus 16-19,[20] an influence explored in full by Miceál Vaughan.[21]

Other studies have concentrated on particular passages within the poem. One of the most interesting studies of the structure of individual Passus is that of J. A. Alford, who argues that the Latin tags form a scaffolding like that of a medieval homily, on which the English sections of the poem are built;[22] an argument which Vaughan claims in support of the liturgical theory,[23] and which may usefully point us to the role of Mass homilies in commenting on the liturgy. Alford and St. Jacques have both written illuminatingly on several passages in *Piers Plowman*.[24]

Other scholars have tried to disentangle the various strands of *Pearl*. Ian Bishop, for example, has discussed the relevance of the Feast of the Holy Innocents to the presentation of the Pearl-maiden, and that of the Epistle and Gospel for Septuagesima to the poem's use of the Parable of the Vineyard.[25] In an unpublished part of his thesis, he has also shown how the whole Septuagesima season, which includes Easter week, helps to relate the description of the heavenly Jerusalem to the central argument of the poem.[26] A more recent article by Heather

Phillips has revived an old controversy on the inclusion of the Eucharist and the elevated host within the pearl-symbolism.[27]

Religious drama has also attracted a lot of comparisons with the liturgy, particularly in connection with the vexed question of what principle, if any, underlies the selection of the Old Testament Mystery Plays. In his study of the plays, R. T. Davies reviews, and rejects, several theories,[28] including a liturgical parallel put forward by E. M. Clark,[29] and referred to by both V. A. Kolve and O. B. Hardison.[30] Clark suggests that the Old Testament plays could correspond to readings in the office of Matins for the season of Septuagesima, the seventy days running from Septuagesima Sunday to the end of Easter Week. However, although Abraham figures prominently in these readings, the episode of the sacrifice of Isaac, an important play in all the Cycles, seems to have no place, while other incidents which are stressed in the readings, such as Jacob and Esau or Joseph and his brothers, do not appear in the plays. At first glance, therefore, the liturgy seems here to offer little help. However, a second glance may yield different results: this question of the choice of Old Testament plays is one to which we shall return.[31] Work has also been done on specific plays within the Cycles: Thomas Campbell, for instance, has examined the Wakefield Herod plays in connection with the feast of the Holy Innocents.[32]

As these various studies show, liturgical parallels can be of use in two main ways: in explaining structure, and in

bringing out the full resonance of individual passages. Both serve to elucidate the poet's actual message by enabling us to examine his personal application of these parallels.

However, if these parallels are to be reliable, scholars need to be reasonably confident that they are examining liturgical material that is properly applicable, in terms of period and location. That is, they need liturgical material that is as contemporary as possible with the work they are studying, and which was used in the localities associated with its production, as far as these can be determined. Some studies have betrayed a certain uneasiness on this question of appropriateness, as we shall now see.

4. Some problems presented by the liturgical material.

M. Ray Adams raised the problem of appropriate liturgical forms in connection with Langland's use of the Breviary. He argued that since we cannot establish what Langland actually used, owing to the multiplicity of medieval liturgical rites,[33] the modern (pre-Vatican II) Roman Breviary is as good an approximation as any.[34] Greta Hort, however, used the Sarum Breviary,[35] and most of the studies mentioned above have followed her. She offered no justification for her choice, but was presumably influenced by the arguments of the nineteenth-century editors of the Sarum books, whose chief concern was to show that

the modern Roman books were *not* the correct guide to medieval English practice.[36] These arguments then appear, or are assumed, in the work of subsequent scholars, for example Maureen Hanna and Ian Bishop.[37]

The more careful present-day scholars are aware of a refinement of the problem: they not only realize that they need to use a medieval English rite, but also wonder which of several rites to turn to *within* England. St.-Jacques, for instance, checks the readings for the Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity in all the English rites, and notes that the readings are not the same in the Roman rite.[38] Most scholars, however, for reasons to be examined in a later section,[39] have either assumed the Sarum rite to be the dominant one in England, or simply been unaware of any others. For example, several major studies on the Mystery Plays, disregarding the Yorkshire origin of the York and Wakefield cycles, use Sarum without showing any awareness of the existence of the York rite. This applies not only to the work of E. M. Clark and V. A. Kolve, but even to a comparatively recent article such as that of Thomas Campbell on the Wakefield Herod plays, which discusses them in relation to texts from the Sarum Breviary.[40] It is also curious, given the connection of Langland with the Malvern hills, that no one has turned specifically to the Hereford rite, which was used in the Worcester diocese, and hence in the Malvern area, in discussing his work. As I hope to show in my section on the medieval liturgy, there are in fact no particular grounds for connecting Langland with the Sarum use at

all; and, in that case, the kind of controversy between Greta Hort and Robert Adams (discussed below), based on the minutiae of the Sarum text, is pointless.

There is, then, the geographical question of which local rite to turn to. There is also the question of period: is a practice present in the post-Tridentine liturgy of the Church in fact present in the late medieval period, and if so, can it be traced back to the appropriate century? For instance, James Oakden has tried to throw light on the central debate in *Pearl* by referring to the funeral rites of children, which emphasise the ideas of sinlessness and purity and of the happiness of the child in heaven. However, he quotes from modern Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic practice, and he himself admits that it would not be easy to say if fourteenth century practice were the same.[41] In fact, the English Priest's Manuals of the period, which contain the "Occasional Offices" such as baptism, marriage and burial, do not appear to provide any special funeral rites for children, nor do the various kinds of Requiem Mass included in the Missals.[42] On the other hand, an interesting set of prayers for children does exist in a fifteenth-century Venetian manuscript, a monastic Manual;[43] but can this be shown to have any connection with a fourteenth-century English poet?

Even when we have established which rite to turn to, there is a further difficulty presented by the medieval habit of abbreviating texts. This is illustrated in the controversy

surrounding Greta Hort's study of *Piers Plowman*, in which, as already mentioned, she attempted to demonstrate Langland's familiarity with the Breviary, as well as with the Missal. She does this by examining deviations in his Scriptural quotations from the text of the Vulgate, and finds that in many cases the deviations follow the text of the liturgy, which follows the "Old Latin" versions of the Bible. In particular, she traces many quotations to lessons from the Breviary office of Matins.[44] Robert Adams, however, in the provocative article already mentioned, questions her attribution of Latin tags. He points out that many of them come from the section of the Gospel at Matins covered by "et reliqua" (after the one or two verses given at the head of the readings from Biblical commentaries) and that many could as easily have come from the Missal. He feels that we cannot be sure of how far the "et reliqua" portion of the readings would have extended in actual performance, given that Scriptural passages tend to be even more drastically abbreviated in MS. Breviaries than in printed ones. As a parallel, he refers to the differences between the Wickham Legg edition of the Sarum Missal, prepared from MSS., and that of F. H. Dickinson, prepared from printed texts. [45]

However, further investigation into both the MS. and printed traditions of the Breviary suggests a more varied picture regarding the length of readings, whether from Scripture or from commentaries. One has first to distinguish between a Choir Breviary, for use in a Collegiate Church or Cathedral, and

a Portos (Portiforium), for use by a priest when alone in a parish or when travelling. In the latter case, the Matins readings are very much shorter, for obvious practical reasons. In the Sarum "Great Breviary" printed by Chevallon in 1531,[46] the readings are given in a much longer form than in other printed editions, of which forty are based on the Portos.[47] For their part, MS. Sarum Breviaries sometimes appear to have different readings altogether, although they may often be taken from the same book of Scripture or from a homily by the same Patristic author.[48]

Finally, having located an appropriate liturgical text, and contended with the problems presented by medieval liturgical manuscripts, we come to one of the most interesting problems: that of the precise liturgical context in which a text is found. Thomas Hill, for instance, finds a possible source for *Piers Plowman* B.16:88 -- "Filius, be the Fader will and frenesse of Spiritus Sancti" -- in a Mass prayer containing the phrase, "fili dei vivi, qui ex voluntate patris cooperante spiritu sancto".[49] This is indeed a close parallel, but it turns out to come from the second or third collect said by the priest at his own communion, spoken very quietly while bent over the host.[50] To what extent, then, would Langland's audience have recognised this allusion, and how familiar would the poet himself have been with this part of the Mass? These are huge questions, linked to the problem of Langland's own Orders. If he was indeed a priest, as opposed to being a minor cleric such as a lector or acolyte, he

would be bound to celibacy, and what then are we to make of the persona of Long Will, with his wife Kytte and his daughter Calote? Again, this is a question to which we shall return.[51]

As some of these examples show, one can find several instances where liturgical influence has been either adduced or rejected on grounds that, on further investigation into the liturgy of the period, prove to be inadequate. Consequently, it should be clear that the question of what liturgical texts were available to the fourteenth-century English poets needs to be investigated with some thoroughness, before scholars can confidently apply liturgical parallels to their study of these poets' works. This investigation is what the first half of this thesis will attempt to carry out.

PART I.

THE LITURGY.

CHAPTER I. OVERVIEW OF THE LITURGY.

1. Preliminary remarks.

If the problems surrounding the study of the medieval liturgy are to be understood, it will be useful at this point to introduce a brief study of the liturgy's constituent elements.

Firstly, it is hoped that this will be of help not only to those unfamiliar with the liturgy, but also to those whose knowledge of it is based on modern practice. It is a temptation, given the overall continuity of the liturgy down the ages, to assume that modern rites are a reliable guide to the late medieval liturgy, whether one is starting from the Tridentine or post-Vatican II Roman Catholic rites, from the monastic rite, or indeed from the liturgies of the Eastern Orthodox or Reformed Churches. In particular, the medieval liturgy suffered from accretions that are confusing to anyone, whatever their point of departure.

Secondly, Middle English scholars have tended to take one or two elements from the liturgy, such as the unfolding of the Church's year, whereas their work might well be extended and enhanced if they were aware of the full range of liturgical material. This section will therefore also endeavour to present

a general overview of the liturgy, showing how its many elements fit together.

The difficulty of obtaining a clear picture of the liturgy is exacerbated by lack of scholarly interest in the late medieval period. Cyrille Vogel, for example, laments "the lack of interest manifested by so many medievalists in the evidence of Christian worship", a sentiment echoed by R. W. Pfaff: "The middle ages are not liturgically fashionable now, and the subject seems to deserve no more than passing attention from those concerned with liturgics."[1] This description, therefore, will draw on the small number of standard works in the field, and seeks to emphasise those elements of the liturgy which differ from later practice, or which are peculiar to the English rites.

The liturgy is a term that can be applied collectively to all the formal worship of the Church. Derived from λειτουργια, the classical Greek noun for public duty or service, it serves to distinguish prayer and worship in its public, official aspect from the private, informal devotions of Christians carried out at home.[2] Although the term is sometimes limited to the Mass, particularly in modern Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox parlance, "liturgy" properly covers every act of public worship for which set forms are laid down by the authorities of the Church. In the context of the rich, corporate devotional life of the late Middle Ages, however, the distinction between public and private, official and unofficial, is not always clear. Indeed,

in defining boundaries for the medieval liturgy, problems arise on all sides, and these will be discussed when reviewing the available liturgical material.[3] This description will begin by examining the two major building-blocks of the liturgy: the Mass or Eucharist, and the daily services of prayers and readings which together make up the Divine Office.

The liturgy can be studied from many angles. Most obviously, it is of interest to theologians, and it is they who have supplied the many histories of the liturgy which have traced, in particular, the development of formal worship in the early Church, firstly up to the period of Charlemagne, and then to that of the great reforming Pope, Gregory VII (1073-85).[4] Secondly, its music, with origins going back to the early medieval period, possibly to the sixth century, continues to attract widespread attention.[5] Thirdly, its ritual aspects, with emphasis on movement and symbolic action, have intrigued students of the history of drama. Two seminal studies here were Karl Young's *Drama of the Medieval Church* and O. B. Hardison's *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*. It would be superfluous to repeat the excellent outlines they produce of the unfolding of the Mass. K. Young, in his Introduction, sets out in detail the arrangement of the liturgical texts in the Mass, particularly those of the Ordinary (the invariable parts),[6] taking the Tridentine rite as a convenient, if rather late, standard[7]. Hardison provides a fascinating account of the movements involved in the Mass, emphasising their visual impact. He takes the ninth

century, the period of the first stirrings of liturgical drama, as his starting-point.[8]

However, while liturgical movement may well lie behind certain gestures emphasised in a poem or play, and while the music of a particular service might set the underlying mood of a poetic passage, it is in the tracing of verbal parallels that a student of, for instance, Langland or the *Gawain*-poet will most hope to throw light on his material. In particular, for the purposes of examining the Church's handling of Biblical material, it is the Proper (the variable parts) [9] of the liturgy that are most important. Moreover, students of Middle English literature will probably be most interested in the liturgy of the fourteenth century, the age not only of Langland and the *Gawain*-poet but of Chaucer and Gower, of many anonymous lyrics and romances, and the age in which the Mystery Plays began.

To see, then, how the themes of the various feasts and seasons emerge, we need first to look at the elements constituting the various services. The Mass and the Divine Office, between them, made up the normal daily round of the liturgy, constituting two self-contained but related parts.

2. The Mass.

In theory, the Mass began with the Introit, usually called the Officium in late medieval texts.[1] In practice, in Cathedrals, Collegiate churches, Religious Communities and in any place where there was a substantial choir, there was a Processional rite during which the priests and all those involved in service at the altar made their entrance.[2] Since the texts for the Procession draw heavily on material from the Divine Office, and form one of the links between the Office and the Mass, we will consider them in a later place.[3] Here, we can note that the Procession was in a sense usurping the real function of the Introit, the original "entrance" song. The Introit took the form of an antiphon (a short sentence usually derived from Scripture) and, in its original form, a psalm.[4] By the fourteenth century, however, the Introit was being said *after* the entrance of the priests, on their arrival at the altar, and hence only one verse of the psalm was sung, followed by the short doxology *Gloria Patri* which normally ended any psalm. The antiphon was then repeated. In England, as well as being sung at the beginning of the psalm, the antiphon may have been repeated both before and after the Gloria Patri, thus being sung three times in all.[5] The psalm and the antiphon, which often consisted of a phrase from the same psalm, introduced the theme of the Mass. On Easter Day, for instance, various phrases were taken from psalm 138 (A.V. 139) [6] to suggest a marvellously intimate dialogue between God the Father and the Risen Son: "Resurrexi, et

adhuc tecum sum, alleluia; posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia; mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia." On Easter Wednesday, during the week when the newly baptized are the focus of attention, we get one of the few antiphons from the New Testament: "Venite benedicti patris mei, percipite regnum, alleluia, quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia." [7]

The Introit was followed by two of the invariable chants of the Mass, the Kyrie and the Gloria.[8] The Kyrie, in itself a very simple invocation, was sometimes "farsed", that is, the melodic line was "stuffed" with extra words, producing an altogether more elaborate text. The Kyrie for Easter Day, for example, is as follows:

> Lux et origo lucis summe deus eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.
> In cuius nutu cuncta constant semper eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.
> Qui solus potens misereri nobis eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.
> Redemptor hominum et salus eorum benigne nobis eleyson.
> Christe eleyson.
> Per crucem redempti a morte perhenni te exoramus eleyson.
> Christe eleyson.
> Qui es verbum patris sator pietatis lux veritatis eleyson.
> Christe eleyson.
> Paraclite spiritus sancte deus nobis eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.
> Medicina nostra et misericordia eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.
> Trinitas et unitas sancta nostra et misericordia eleyson.
> Kyrie eleyson.[9]

These chants culminated in one of the major texts for bringing out the day's theme, the Collect. This important but concise prayer had the task of presenting the mystery of the day's Feast to the congregation and relating it to the needs of

those present, all in one short sentence.[10] On Easter Day the Collect emphasises the passage from death to eternal life won for us by Christ: "Deus, qui hodierna die per Unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti: vota nostra, quae praeveniendo aspiras, etiam adjuvando prosequere;" at Pentecost, the congregation prays for wisdom and joy: "Deus, qui hodierna die corda fidelium sancti spiritus illustracione docuisti: da nobis in eodem spiritu recta sapere et de eius semper consolacione gaudere." [11] The Collect of the day could then be followed by several other prayers (e.g. of Our Lady, for all the faithful, for peace) up to a total of seven collects in Lent.[12]

The readings from the Bible followed next. Originally, it seems that a passage was read from the Old Testament, then from one of the New Testament epistles, and finally from one of the Gospels.[13] In the fourteenth century, however, it had become customary to drop the Old Testament reading, leaving only the Epistle and Gospel. The "epistle" itself, however, could sometimes be an Old Testament reading, particularly on weekdays during Advent and Lent.[14] In certain important masses, such as the three for Christmas Day or those of the four Ember Wednesdays,[15] the original pattern of three readings was preserved; in the Christmas masses, the English rites probably show their tendency to conservatism, as the Roman rite had only two readings here. Further, in particularly solemn "vigil" masses, such as those on the eve of Easter and Pentecost, and on

the four Ember Saturdays, there were several Old Testament readings in addition to the Epistle. At the Easter Vigil, for instance, there were four Old Testament readings in the Sarum rite, five in the York, and twelve in the Roman; at least some of these readings were then repeated on the Vigil of Pentecost. All the rites had five Old Testament readings on Ember Saturdays.[16]

The readings were separated by Proper chants; where there were several Old Testament readings, each one would be followed by a Gradual, so called because it was originally sung from the *gradus* or altar-step, and a short prayer, of the same format as the Collect. In normal masses, where there were only the two New Testament readings, the Epistle was followed by two chants, the Gradual and Alleluia. It seems likely that in the original scheme of three readings, the Gradual would have come between the Old Testament passage and the Epistle, and only the Alleluia between the Epistle and Gospel,[17] an arrangement restored in our own day by the Second Vatican Council. In the fourteenth century, however, when there were three readings, the English rites eschewed this logical ordering of the texts, having no chant at all between the Old Testament reading and the Epistle, and keeping the Gradual and Alleluia together before the Gospel.[18] These chants had the same structure as the Introit, though they were often musically more elaborate.[19] It may be due to this elaboration that the Gradual antiphon seems to have been repeated after the psalm-verse only on important feast-

days.[20] On certain Sundays and feasts a third chant also came into play: the Sequence. This was a hymn which followed immediately after the Alleluia, and was frequently marked by syllabic metre and rhyme; it varied in length from about eight lines to twenty or more short stanzas. The most famous example is perhaps the *Dies Irae*, sung on All Souls' day (2 November), or the more lyrical and happy *Lauda Sion*, still sung on the feast of Corpus Christi.[21]

On Sundays and certain other days, the recitation of the Creed rounded off the Gospel,[22] unless a homily, commenting on the Gospel, was preached before the Creed. It is difficult to ascertain how common a homily would have been in the fourteenth century: the earlier decline in the education of the parish clergy seems to have eroded this element in the Mass, while the revival of preaching skills inspired by the Franciscans seems to have led to sermons being given in separate, mission-style services.[23] However, a series of homilies commenting specifically on the Mass readings, such as those in Mirk's *Festial*, are obviously intended for this place in the Mass.[24]

The Mass now moved onto its more sacramental section, the consecration of bread and wine in the Eucharist. This section was introduced by the next Proper chant, the Offertory, sung during the preparation of the altar. Like all the Proper chants, it had originally been devised to cover times of action and movement in the Mass -- in this case the "offering" of the bread

and wine to be consecrated. Originally the Offertory had involved a procession, but by the fourteenth century this had been abolished.[25] As with the Introit, the Offertory was reduced from what was originally an antiphon and a whole psalm, this time to just the antiphon. However, the Sarum rite seems to have undergone a fresh elaboration during the fourteenth century: two psalm-verses are frequently added to the Offertory antiphon. This development is not present in the thirteenth-century manuscripts edited by J. Wickham Legg, but appears in several fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts [26] and in the printed editions re-edited by Dickinson. The action being covered is not clear: Jungmann points to a rubric that suggests that extra offerings could be given by the laity to the priest at this point.[27] After this, the clergy and servers in the Sanctuary would have been conscious of the priest saying the Secret, so called because it was said in a low voice; this was another short prayer, rather like the Collect, which related the offering of the gifts to the day's theme.[28]

The focus now shifts entirely to the words and actions of the priest at the altar, who at this point embarked on the Eucharistic prayer. On great Feasts, this prayer included a "Proper Preface" which dwelt on the special character of the day,[29] before moving into the invariable part of the consecration, the Canon. Between the Preface and the Canon occurred two more invariable chants, the Sanctus and Benedictus. These may have been drawn out, sometimes being "farsed" like the

Kyrie,[30] to cover at least the beginning of the Canon, which was "silent", i.e. said very quietly by the priest. The part of the Canon which preceded the actual Consecration consisted of five short prayers, and the most holy part of the Mass was thus known by the opening words of the first, "Te igitur". The Consecration itself was signalled to the congregation by the elevation of the host (the wafer of bread) above the priest's head, so that it could be clearly seen; it is not clear whether or not the chalice was elevated.[31] After the Consecration, the Canon included another five prayers.[32] Once again, this part of the Canon could be covered by the last chant of the Ordinary, the Agnus Dei, which could also be farsed;[33] otherwise this chant followed the Canon.

At the end of the Canon, only one Proper chant remained, the Communion, a short antiphon designed to cover the communion of the priest, since most of the congregation would have communicated only on major feasts.[34] The priest then said the Post-Communion prayer, which again referred to the day's theme, after which the Mass rapidly came to an end. In Lent, it was concluded by a special prayer of blessing over the congregation, the "Super Populum". Finally, the clergy left the Sanctuary, the priest reciting the "In principio" (the first fourteen verses of St. John's Gospel), a custom started by the Dominicans in the thirteenth century.[35]

Of all the above, the key texts for setting the character of a particular Mass were probably the Introit, the Collect, and above all the Scriptural readings.

3. The Divine Office.

a. Cathedral and monastic formats.

The daily round of the Divine Office was made up of eight individual "offices": the three major offices of Matins, Lauds and Vespers, and the five minor offices or "Little Hours" or simply "Hours" (Latin *horae*) of Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Compline. Karl Young provides the same detailed outline for these offices as he does for the Mass, and this is an invaluable guide to the invariable texts.[1] However, as with other scholars drawing on the Roman Breviary, he does not indicate an awareness that "the rubrics and practice of the Church of Rome today" [1933] [2] are the fruit of the reform of the Breviary by Pius X in 1911, as well as of the tidying up of the Office carried out by Pius V at the Council of Trent. Fortunately, the English cathedral rites are very similar to the Tridentine, which can conveniently be studied in any pre-1911 Roman Breviary, in most of which the lay-out of the texts and rubrics is full and clear.

It is much harder to gain a sense of the unfolding of the Office from the medieval liturgical books, as the different parts of the Office are presented separately, without adequate cross-referencing. However, in the interests of accuracy, the present account will be based ar far as possible on the pre-Tridentine service books of the English rites. As with the Mass, the aim is to underline the variable texts; in the case of the Divine Office, it is also to delineate the full extent of the liturgy.

Within these rites, both "cathedral" and "monastic" formats will be discussed. The cathedral or "secular" Office was used in the cathedrals and parish churches, and, with certain modifications, by the religious orders of Friars (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites and many smaller orders). The monastic structure (used by the Benedictines, Cluniacs, Cistercians, Carthusians, Premonstratensians and other monastic orders) is of relevance when monastic authorship is adduced for certain works, such as religious lyrics or the Chester Mystery Plays.[3] It is also relevant to those authors, such as Langland, who may have been educated at a monastery school -- in Langland's case, possibly one attached to the priory of Great Malvern, a dependency of Worcester Abbey.[4] Moreover, many extant medieval service books are monastic, [5] and an outline of the differences between them and the secular or cathedral rite will avoid confusion when referring to original sources.

Since the eight individual offices that make up the complete Office differ somewhat in format, it will be convenient to look at each one in order, as it would have occurred during the course of the day.

b. Matins (Nocturns).

The day began with Matins, the longest and most elaborate of the offices. This office, also known as Vigils or Nocturns, was designed to be said at night, or more precisely in the early hours, ending before dawn.[6] If we take the Cathedral rite first, every office began with the introductory versicle, "Deus, in adiutorium meum intende", with its response, "Domine, ad adiuvandum me festina", followed immediately by the short doxology, "Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in secula seculorum, Amen." The opening phrases, both from psalm 69 (A.V. 70), stress God's saving activity, and seem originally to have been a reaction to a heretical Pelagian stress on human effort.[7] Certain offices, however, had a special versicle of their own which preceded the opening versicle; at Matins this was "Domine, labia mea aperies", with its response, "Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam," an obvious beginning to the day's worship.

After the preliminary versicles, Matins went on to its distinctive introductory section, which consisted of the

invitatory antiphon and psalm, followed by a hymn. The invitatory psalm was invariably Psalm 94 (A.V. 95), "Venite, exultemus Domino," an "invitation" to worship. The antiphon was proper, that is, it varied according to the day of the week, the season of the Church's year, or the feast being celebrated. It often consisted of a phrase taken from the psalm itself, but could reflect the feast or season closely, as in, "Rex noster adveniet Christus: Quem Johannes praedicavit Agnum esse venturum", which illustrates the central place given to John the Baptist on the second Sunday of Advent.[8] The Invitatory antiphon was given added importance by being repeated at intervals within the Psalm as well as at the end: after each verse, either the whole antiphon or the second half of it was repeated, alternately.[9] This practice seems to have been the sole relic in the medieval Church of the West of a practice common in the Early Church, [10] and it must have contributed to the solemn atmosphere of this office. A hymn was then sung, which varied in the same way as the invitatory antiphon; being a more affective text, it set the devotional mood for what followed.

The major part of the office then began. On weekdays this consisted of one Nocturn only, divided into a body of psalmody and a body of readings (Appendix I, Table 2). The former consisted of twelve psalms, said more or less in numerical order. Taking all the eight daily offices together, the aim was to get round the whole Psalter, consisting of 150 psalms, once a week. Matins, getting through twelve psalms a night, accounted

for the bulk of this recitation: it covered psalms 1-108 (A.V.109), apart from a handful used at other offices, while the Day Hours covered psalms 109 (A.V.110)-150 (Appendix I, Table 7). Saying twelve psalms a night seems to have been a rule of almost inviolable sacredness; it is enshrined in the Rule of St. Benedict, the oldest coherent picture of the liturgy in the West, and this in turn probably derived the practice from St. Pachomius, the founder of cenobitic monasticism.[11] Attempts at shortening the psalmody were resisted by Gregory VII, who fixed the pattern of psalms for the cathedral Office in 1074.[12] The recitation of this heavy number of psalms was made more manageable by breaking them up into six blocks of two: each block was introduced by an antiphon, usually a phrase from the following psalm; the short doxology "Gloria" was said at the end of the second psalm only; and the antiphon was then repeated. More accurately, before each block of psalms the antiphon was normally only precented (i.e. the first two or three words were said), or not said at all; it was said in full only at the end of the relevant psalms, a practice reflected in the layout of the service-books. Only on major feasts, known as "doubles", would the antiphon be sung in full twice. At the end of the entire body of twelve psalms, this part of the Nocturn was marked off by a versicle and response, which was proper, varying in the same way as the invitatory and the hymn. The Pater Noster was then said silently, except for the last two petitions, which were said aloud.

The readings followed next. Each began with the reader asking for and receiving a brief blessing, which differed for each reading, as, theoretically at least, each one was read out by a different person. The three readings were really one consecutive passage broken up into three sections, each marked off by a respond (or responsory), the last of which was slightly more elaborate than the other two. The length of the readings varied considerably: in a portos, the compact version of the breviary for private use outside a choir, each reading consisted of only one or two sentences, whereas in a choir breviary they would be much longer, though not always as long as those in the printed Sarum "Great Breviary" of 1531. Since the latter is the version re-edited by Procter and Wordsworth in 1878, the impression of the readings given to modern scholars can be misleading. The general brevity of the readings meant that the responds which followed often equalled them in length, and, being sung by the whole choir, would probably be more familiar to both singers and audience, the more so as they could be musically elaborate. In origin, the respond may have been a shortened form of responsorial psalm, or a form of gradual, as in the Mass.[13] The melodies used for sung responds are often the same as those used for graduals, which perhaps supports the latter theory.[14] If we take one of the Advent responds, its layout was as follows:

Respond (begun by cantor and taken up by whole choir):
Aspiciebam in visu noctis, et ecce in nubibus caeli filius hominis venit. Et datum est ei regnum et honor: et omnis populus, tribus et linguae servient ei.
Versicle (cantor):
Potestas ejus potestas aeterna quae non auferetur, et regnus ejus quod non corrumpetur.

Second half of respond (choir):
Et datum est ei regnum et honor: et omnis populus, tribus et linguae servient ei. [15]

The last respond of the Nocturn would then add the "Gloria" sung by the cantor, and then the second half of the respond sung again by the choir. There were further complications on special occasions, such as the first respond of Advent and the responds of Tenebrae on the last three days before Easter. Here, however, the point is chiefly to draw attention to the importance of these liturgical texts, which on the whole have been neglected by scholars in favour of the readings; they will be discussed further in relation to the poem *Cleanness*.[16] The last respond effectively terminated the office, as Lauds normally followed immediately. Only in the Sarum rite was there a versicle "ante Laudes" to form a transition.

The pattern of weekday Matins was also seen in "three-lesson" (minor) feasts. However, the invitatory, hymn, versicle, readings and responds would all be taken from the Common or Proper of the feast,[17] leaving only the week-day psalms intact.

On Sundays, after the introductory section, which always had the same structure, the main part of the office was divided into three Nocturns (Appendix I, Table 3). Exceptionally, the sacred number of twelve psalms was expanded to eighteen: twelve in the first Nocturn and three in each of the two others. This

curiously imbalanced structure seems to represent a confused memory of a time when a Sunday or major feast would have both ferial (ordinary) Matins and festal Matins, said one after the other.[16] Thus Nocturn I, representing the ferial office, has the twelve psalms of weekday Matins, but divides them into three blocks of four, i.e. with only three antiphons. Nocturns II and III followed the more festal pattern of having one antiphon per psalm, so that they each have three antiphons and three psalms. At the end of each Nocturn, the psalmody was followed by a versicle, three readings and three responds, as in the one Nocturn of weekday Matins; Sundays thus had a total of nine readings and nine responds. On Sundays and feasts, the office concluded with the "Ambrosian hymn", the Te Deum, except on Sundays during the two penitential seasons of Advent and Lent, when the final respond (Respond 9) was repeated instead. Since this respond frequently recurs in the Procession before Mass, we can see that it would be a particularly well-known text.[17]

Major ("nine-lesson") feasts differed from Sundays only in the structure of the first Nocturn, which mirrored Nocturns II and III in having only three psalms. Like Sundays, major feasts were distinguished by having nine lessons and nine responds, a pattern that underlies the restored Christmas Eve "Service of Nine Lessons and Carols" of our own day.

The monastic office differed somewhat in its layout (Appendix I, Table 4). The introductory section was virtually

the same as in the cathedral office, except that the versicle "Domine, aperies labia mea" and its response were repeated three times, as directed in the Rule of St. Benedict.[20] The Rule does not refer to the usual opening versicle, "Deus, in adiutorium", at Matins, and its place in this office is therefore disputed.[21] The layout in Table 4 follows the Breviary of Hyde Abbey, dated c. 1300, in placing the opening versicle first.[22] In addition, psalm 3 was inserted before the Invitatory, as one of its verses, "Ego dormivi et soporatus sum et exurrexi", has an obvious connection with night prayer, as well as overtones of the Resurrection.[23]

It is in the Nocturns that real differences occur. On weekdays and three-lesson feasts, the twelve psalms of the office were divided into two Nocturns, the first with three antiphons and six psalms, said, as in the cathedral rite, in groups of two, the second with one antiphon and six psalms (Appendix I, Table 2). Further, St. Benedict was exercised by the great disparity in length between different psalms, and he therefore introduced the practice of dividing some of the longer psalms into two, so that "twelve psalms" can in fact be merely ten or eleven; this applies to the day hours as well (Appendix I, Table 7). Psalm-division was taken a stage further in the 1911 reform of the cathedral Office by Pius X, himself a Benedictine, who frequently divided psalms into three or four; but this is not a feature of either the Tridentine rite or the pre-Tridentine cathedral Office.

Before beginning the readings, the psalmody of each Nocturn was marked off by an "absolution", which in this case meant a prayer concluding a section of the office. Turning to the readings themselves, we find that three occurred at the end of Nocturn I, while Nocturn II ended only with an invariable "short chapter", an extract from Scripture of only one or two verses. A further complication was that, in summer, when dawn, and therefore Lauds, came early, there was no time for long readings in the later part of the night. St. Benedict therefore directs that from Easter to September only one lesson should be read in Nocturn I,[24] thus producing the anomaly of "one-lesson" feasts: these were not inferior to "three-lesson" feasts, but were merely those which occurred in summer.

On Sundays, the monastic office adheres to twelve psalms in all, six in each of the first two Nocturns, recited in blocks of two, as on weekdays (Appendix I, Table 4). In Nocturn III, however, a single antiphon introduced three Old Testament canticles, that is, passages from other books of Scripture that sound very like psalms or songs. They are mostly taken from the prophetic books, e.g. Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel; an example is Isaiah 63:1-6, "Quis est iste qui venit de Edom", which was particularly connected with the Ascension, and emerges, for instance, in the dialogue between Christ and the angels in the Ascension play from the Chester cycle.[25]

The monastic office also differed in the number of Sunday readings, each Nocturn ending not with three passages, but with four, with their accompanying responds. In addition, the office had a more elaborate concluding section. After the singing of the Te Deum, the Gospel of the day's Mass was read solemnly, with all present standing,[26] and at its conclusion the one-stanza hymn "Te decet laus" was sung.[27] This solemn reading of the Gospel gave point to the lessons of the third Nocturn, which in all rites consisted of the opening verse or two of the day's Gospel, followed by one of the standard expositions on it, such as that of Gregory the Great or Bede.

Major feasts had basically the same structure as Sunday Matins, and in the monastic office were therefore known as "twelve-lesson" feasts. The only difference between Sundays and feasts lay in the number of antiphons: in the first two Nocturns, each feast-day psalm was introduced by its own antiphon, giving a total of twelve, rather than six.

In all the rites, the psalms on major feasts would themselves have been chosen for their relevance to the feast. This relevance depended largely on specific images and phrases rather than on subject-matter; thus Psalm 18 (A.V.19), with its verse, "In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum: et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum" was chosen for feasts of the Apostles, whose mission was to go "in mundum universum" to preach the Christian faith.[28]

The readings of the Nocturns were taken from two sources, Scripture and homiletic writings, usually those of the Patristic period. On weekdays, the readings were taken from Scripture only, usually from the Old Testament, except during Eastertide; in theory at least, they followed the "historia", the unfolding of the narrative, more or less continuously. Traditionally, the books of the Bible were distributed through the year approximately as follows: Isaiah in Advent, the Pauline Epistles in Christmastide, the Heptateuch up to Passiontide, Jeremiah until Easter, Acts in Eastertide, and, from about June to November, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Wisdom of Solomon (in August), Job, Tobit, Esther, Ezra, Maccabees (in October), Ezekiel, Daniel, and the minor Prophets. The monastic scheme was slightly different, having Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and the minor Prophets throughout Advent and Christmastide, adding Judges and Ruth to Lent, and Revelation to Eastertide.[29] In practice, however, it seems that only about a quarter of this material was actually used in the late medieval period. In the Sarum books, for example, far from working through the first seven books of the Bible in Lent, the readings have portions of only two: Genesis is read until the Fourth Sunday of Lent, and Exodus for the remaining week before Passiontide.

When there were three Nocturns, the first always drew on Scripture; the second could do likewise (as in the Hereford rite) or draw on a "sermo" (as in Sarum); and the third was always an exegesis, "expositio", of the day's Gospel. A "sermo" was also

based on Scripture, but laid more emphasis on moral guidance, although the distinction between "sermo" and "expositio" is not always clear in practice. Both kinds of homily were taken from a traditional collection going back to the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, which was drawn up as part of Charlemagne's re-ordering of the liturgy within his empire.[30] It draws heavily on the writings of Bede, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Maximus and Leo, and has a handful of writings from Ambrose, Jerome, and John Chrysostom, among others. It also has a number of unascribed homilies. Despite this common stock of material, it is in their choice of Matins readings that the different rites varied most widely; once again, only a fraction of the available material was used, which may account in part for the differences. However, the responds which followed the readings were far more uniform: they varied in order, but comparatively little in content.

At the end of Matins, which would have lasted slightly more or less than an hour, depending on the rite, Lauds followed immediately. As a result, the term "Matins" often covers both offices. In the service-books, this obscures the overall daily structure of the Divine Office: Lauds is the morning counterpart to Vespers, as is shown by its layout (Appendix I, Table 5), and an integral part of the Day Hours, as is shown on major feasts by the re-use of its antiphons at the Little Hours. However, a Diurnal, an Office-book giving the Day Hours only, will frequently omit Lauds, as being part of "Matins".

c. The Day Hours.

Lauds, a shorter service designed to be sung at dawn, was built around the imagery of light. The psalms were chosen because of their references to dawn or to the light of God's countenance, and consisted of both variable and invariable psalms (see Table 7). On Sundays and feasts, the light imagery was extended into the imagery of resurrection, therefore of triumph and praise for the sovereignty of God. There was a penitential element, in that one of the psalms was always psalm 50 (A.V. 51), the Miserere. These were followed by an Old Testament canticle, which on Sundays was the Benedicite, the Song of the three children in the furnace (Daniel 3:35-66). Next came the three Laudate psalms, Psalms 148, 149 and 150, beginning "Laudate Dominum", which gives the office its name. A short Scripture reading, consisting of perhaps two verses, came next, followed by a hymn. On weekdays, the hymn continued the imagery of light; on feasts, it celebrated themes appropriate to the feast. Finally came the New Testament canticle known as the Benedictus, with its attendant antiphon. The latter was one of the most important variable texts of the Office: like the Magnificat antiphon at Vespers, it was normally based on the day's Gospel, and therefore appears in the service-books as the antiphon "in evangelio". The office proper was concluded with a number of short versicles and responses in the form of petitions, known as "preces", and the collect for the day.

The monastic office differed from the above only in the order and choice of some of the psalms (Appendix I, Table 7). The canticles were the same as in the cathedral rite, except that shorter alternative canticles were provided for feast-days. These became the standard ones in the reform of Pius X, the old ferial canticles being reserved for Advent and Lent. The monastic office also added a respond after the short chapter, while the versicle and response occured after the hymn (Appendix I, Table 6).

However, there then followed a varying number of memorials or suffrages. These each consisted of an antiphon, a versicle and response, and a collect. A memorial of Our Lady was said daily, and usually one of All Saints and one of the Cross; in addition, memorials were made of the patron saint of the diocese -- Oswald at Salisbury, Chad at Lichfield, Hugh at Lincoln, and so on --, of any saint whose day it was but whose feast was too minor to otherwise mark the office, of any major feast of which it was the octave day (the eighth day following), and of any other saint or feast to which there was a devotion at that particular time or place. As we shall see when we consider the Sanctorale, it is these memorials which gave the medieval office a reputation for impenetrable complexity.

Prime, celebrated after sunrise and named according to "first hour" of the ancient Roman day, marked the beginning of work. It became rather a complex office during the course of the

Middle Ages, although in principle it forms one of the simple "Little Hours" which punctuated the day. Since it kept this simplicity most obviously in the monastic office, we will take this first. After the opening versicle and response, a hymn was sung which marked the hour, referring to the fact that day had now come; this hymn was invariable. After a single antiphon, three psalms were sung, taken from psalms 1-19 (A.V.20), which are not covered at Matins in the monastic rite; on Sundays, however, the first thirty-two verses of psalm 118 (A.V.119) were used. After the psalmody came a short chapter, a versicle and response, and preces which included the Apostles' Creed, said silently except for the last two sentences, as well as the Confiteor, a prayer of confession of sins followed by an absolution. The only parts of Prime which varied according to the feast or season were the antiphon, which on a feast-day was the same as the first antiphon at Lauds, and the collect of the day, which rounded off the office. The cathedral office, on the other hand, was more elaborate. Two sets of psalmody were involved: psalms 21-25 (A.V.22-26), and 118:1-32 (A.V. 119:1-32). The latter was said daily, together with one psalm from the former group; a peculiarity of the Sarum office was that the whole group was also recited on most Sundays. Further, psalm 53 was said daily as a kind of opening psalm, and the Athanasian Creed, known as the "Symbolum" or "Quicunque vult", was said daily at the end with its own antiphon, which varied according to the season. The "Quicunque" became sufficiently popular to

encroach on the monastic office, at least on Sundays, although not prescribed in the Rule of St. Benedict. The preces parallelled the monastic ones, except that they were more elaborate, and, in the Sarum rite, the Miserere was said again at this point; in other rites, the shorter De Profundis, psalm 129 (A.V.130), was said. The chief problem with Prime, however, lay in the Capitular office which got added to it, and which followed immediately, without any break marked in the service-books. Its first element was the reading of the Martyrology, the list of saints' deaths to be commemorated on that day or on the next, followed by its own versicle and collect. The second was a blessing on the day's work for communities of monks, nuns, friars and canons. In the monastic office, a chapter of the Rule of the community was read; otherwise the chief aim was to commemorate the benefactors and the departed of the Order. Prime thus becomes something of a rag-bag office, and its shape is at first glance difficult to discern.

Terce, Sext and None, however, brief offices designed to punctuate the main stretch of the day, were models of simplicity in both cathedral and monastic rites. They followed the structure of monastic Prime, the chief difference lying in the choice of psalms: where the cathedral office said psalm 118 (A.V. 119), consisting of 176 verses in all, in the course of each day, the monastic office spread this psalm over Sunday and Monday, and then went on to nine of the gradual psalms (psalms 119-128; A.V. 120-29) on the other days of the week. A further difference was

that after the short chapter the cathedral office had a respond, where the monastic office had a simple versicle and response; the cathedral preces were also more elaborate, and in the Sarum rite again included psalm 50 (A.V. 51).

After None, the onset of evening was marked by Vespers. In the cathedral rite, this office copied the structure of Lauds, with five antiphons and five psalms, the major difference in content being the singing of the Magnificat as the New Testament canticle, in place of the Benedictus. The monastic office, however, disturbed the parallel by reducing the number of psalms and antiphons to four. In both rites, any memorials made at Lauds were repeated at the end of Vespers. In abbeys and cathedrals this office was celebrated with great solemnity, with incense being used during the Magnificat.

In placing Vespers at this point in the sequence, we are following the pattern of a "feria", an ordinary day. In the service-books, however, Sundays and feasts will be found to begin with "first Vespers" on the previous evening, and then to work their way through the ensuing offices, ending with "second Vespers" on the feast-day itself. This was because, strictly speaking, a liturgical day was meant to follow the pattern established in Genesis: "factumque est vespere et mane, dies unus" (Gen. 1:5). The "day" therefore began in the evening, and ran till the next evening, which could then get absorbed, pulled back as it were, into the celebration of a major feast. Since a

feast's second Vespers was thus something of an afterthought, it was the first Vespers which was considered to be the real one, and hence the more solemn.

In the course of an ordinary day, only one office now remained, Compline. As its name, related to the word "complete", implies, it was designed to mark the end of the day. In the cathedral rite, it began, like Matins, with its own special versicle and response: "Converte nos deus salutaris noster. Et averte iram tuam a nobis." Then came the normal opening versicle, followed by a single antiphon, which was variable, and four invariable psalms, all having reference to darkness, to prayer at night, or to God's protective shadow: psalms 4, 30(31), 90(91), and 133(134). An invariable short chapter followed, and then a variable hymn and versicle. Next came the New Testament canticle "Nunc Dimittis", with its own variable antiphon.[31] Lengthy preces rounded off the office; as at Prime, these included the Confiteor. A special antiphon to the Virgin, musically one of the most beautiful parts of the office, usually ended the day; this antiphon could also be sung after "Matins". The monastic office differed a little in its arrangement, and was invariable throughout; it could thus be said by heart, an advantage in the dark evenings of winter. This office began with a short chapter and the Confiteor, and then went on to the office proper. This section followed the cathedral office, except that psalm 30 was omitted, as was the Nunc Dimittis. The final preces were briefer.

Compline completed the daily course of the canonical office, the Divine Office in the strict sense. However, the daily pattern of worship was complicated by additional offices and devotions, not originally part of the liturgy, but habitual: the most common were the office of Our Lady, the office of the Dead, and, in Advent and Lent, the seven penitential psalms. "Psalmi familiares", usually said for benefactors and members of an Order, or for peace, could also be added; two of these, psalm 122 (A.V. 123) after Lauds, and psalm 120 (121) after Prime and Compline, appear in the 1531 Sarum Breviary (reprinted by Procter and Wordsworth) as a habitual part of the Office. Some of these additions were considered as binding as the canonical office, notably the Office of Our Lady. However, since they are not in fact part of the *cursus*, the ordained sequence of liturgical material pertinent to a particular day or season, they will be considered further in the section on Devotions, when we come to establish the boundaries between liturgy and private prayer.[32]

From this study of the liturgy's components, we see that the themes particular to a liturgical feast or season emerge through several different bodies of material, divided between the Mass and the Office. At Mass, there are the prayers, the Scripture readings and the "Proper" chants (Introit, Gradual, Offertory and Communion). The Office (consisting of the eight canonical Offices discussed above) repeats or echoes a lot of this material. Each Office comprises a core of psalms, with their attendant antiphons; a Scripture reading, usually very

short; a collect; and a hymn. Matins, in addition to psalms, canticles and antiphons, has longer readings both from Scripture and from homiletic writings. Although the psalms change comparatively little, all the above material can vary according to the feast or season.

d. Links between the Mass and the Office.

While the Mass and the Office can be seen as two self-contained systems, each one forming a whole without the aid of the other, they also combine to provide the full liturgical expression of each day, bearing in mind that the Mass would have been celebrated daily. Within this combined liturgical structure, the Mass can be seen as the keystone of the arch: it sets the themes and provides the material that will be developed by the Office. On a great feast or during a liturgical season, material from the Mass is taken up by the Office in the following way. The collect at Mass is repeated at each office. The short scripture readings at each office often repeat sections of the Mass readings, usually the Epistle. The Gospel at Mass is echoed in the antiphon on the Benedictus at Lauds and the Magnificat at Vespers, and sometimes in the psalm-antiphons as well. The homiletic readings at Matins, particularly those of the third Nocturn, comment on the Gospel for that day; in the monastic rite, the Gospel passage itself is read entire. However, the Office brings contributions of its own to the

overall picture. The mood of the day or season is expressed through the hymns, especially those sung at Matins, Lauds and Vespers. The short readings and antiphons can be from material related to, but not identical with, the Mass readings. Most importantly, the Scripture readings and responds at Matins add their own strands of associations and images to the day's themes. This link is expressed liturgically through the re-use of Respond 9 as the respond of the Procession before Mass. Although the Procession consists of a lengthy antiphon and an elaborate sequence of prayers and petitions,[33] the respond is said at a key point, when the clergy, having entered by the north door and processed round the church, turn to the people at the altar steps, before finally entering the sanctuary. The links between the Matins readings and the Mass are further brought out by two kinds of literature related to the liturgy, though not strictly part of it: liturgical commentaries and Mass homilies, both of which often endeavour to see the day's liturgy as a whole.[34]

Most of this material, then, is Scriptural, so arranged as to form an on-going meditation on a few salient images or ideas, which the prayers often serve to pinpoint. The scope of the meditation is widened by the homilies, and is then expressed in a more affective and emotional form in the hymns. It is in this way that the liturgy, while consisting very largely of Scriptural material, succeeds in giving this material a particular slant and a particular set of overtones.

We can now examine the way in which this distinctive slant is exploited in the succession of the Church's feasts and seasons, the unfolding of the Church's year which the liturgical books refer to as the Calendar.

4. The Church's Year.

a. The *Temporale*.

The Church's year began with the First Sunday of Advent, which falls on the fourth Sunday preceding Christmas Day. The four Sundays of Advent, together with all the weekdays falling between the First Sunday and Christmas Eve, are, as their name implies, a time of preparation for the coming, the advent, of Christ. The Scriptural texts, largely taken from the Old Testament, set a mood of longing and of hope, based on the promises of deliverance made by God to the people of Israel. Exceptionally rich in imagery, the Advent liturgy is deeply poetic and haunting. The antiphons and versicles take the form of pleas, as in "Emitte Agnum dominatorem terrae, de petra deserti ad montem filiae Sion", or of promises: "In illa die stillabunt montes dulcedinem et colles fluent lac et mel".[1]

The Scriptural readings illustrate three aspects of the coming of Christ. The first, at the Incarnation, is seen as the fulfilment of Israel's longing and as a moment of deliverance. The second, Christ's subsequent "coming" into the heart of each individual believer, gives Advent its penitential slant, as the faithful prepare themselves for this visitation. The third focuses on Christ's final coming in power at the end of time, introducing a strongly eschatological element into the Advent liturgy. The antiphons on the Magnificat known as "the Great O's", sung at Vespers on the seven days (in England, eight or nine) immediately preceding Christmas, also gather up these joint themes of judgement and redemption, by addressing Christ in all the titles that can be drawn for him from Old Testament prophecy: "O Sapientia, quae ex ore Altissimi prodisti...", "O Adonai, et Dux domus Israel, qui Moysi in igne flammae rubi apparuisti...", "O radix Jesse, qui stans in signum populorum...,"O clavis David, et sceptrum domus Israel...", "O Oriens, splendor lucis aeternae et sol justitiae...", "O Rex gentium et desideratus earum, lapisque angularis...", "O Emmanuel, Rex et legifer noster..." The eighth antiphon, peculiar to England, addressed the Virgin. These antiphons form an almost exotically rich climax to the expectation expressed by Advent.[2]

Christmas Eve has a character of its own, all its chants looking forward to the next day: "Mane videbitis gloriam ejus"; "Crastina die delebitur iniquitas terrae".[3] This long period of expectation, the horizon gradually shortening to "tomorrow",

throws into vivid relief the joyfully repeated "today" of the feast of Christmas itself: "Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te"; "Hodie Christus natus est"; "Hodie nobis de caelo pax vera".[4]

The twelve days of Christmas follow, several of them marked by Saints' days - St. Stephen (26 Dec.), St. John (27 Dec.), the Holy Innocents (28 Dec.), St. Thomas of Canterbury (29 Dec.), St. Sylvester (31 Dec.). Exceptionally, these Saints' days are normally included in the *Temporale* section of the liturgy (the texts for the Church's seasons), not the *Sanctorale* (the texts for feasts of the Saints). This is probably because, in some rites at least, Vespers throughout the twelve days returns to the themes of Christmas, with only the antiphon on the Magnificat reflecting the feast of the day. New Year's day celebrated the Circumcision of Christ, and being the octave day of Christmas, largely repeated the texts of Christmas Day itself; similarly, the octave days of the Saints repeat the material already used on them.

The twelve days precede the feast of the Epiphany on 6 January. This feast, named after the Greek word for manifestation, *epiphanios*, celebrates three moments when Christ's identity as Son of God was publicly revealed: the adoration of the three kings; the baptism of Christ in the Jordan; his first miracle at the wedding in Cana. The following antiphon applies the concept of "wedding" to all three incidents:

"Hodie caelesti sponso juncta est Ecclesia, quoniam in Jordane lavit Christus ejus crimina; currunt cum muneribus Magi ad regales nuptias, et ex aqua facto vino laetantur convivae, alleluia." [5] This is an interesting example of the way the liturgy juxtaposes separate incidents, and, by playing with the images they suggest, transfers the overtones from one to another.

After Epiphany, there are a varying number of Sundays before Septuagesima. Christmastide, strictly speaking, continues for a full forty days after Christmas Day itself, only coming to an end on the feast of the Purification (or Candlemas) on 2 February. This feast commemorates the visit of the parents of Jesus to the Temple, to dedicate him to God on the fortieth day after birth, in accordance with Jewish law. Although the Purification was technically a feast of Our Lady, since according to Jewish law a woman was ritually impure until the the fortieth day after childbirth, the liturgy concentrates almost entirely on the encounter of the infant Christ with the aged Simeon, who recognised the child's significance: "Senex puerum portabat; puer autem senem regebat...".[6] Simeon's words, commemorated in the Nunc Dimittis, "Lumen ad revelationem gentium", were reflected in the heavy use of the imagery of light in this feast, expressed further by the whole congregation carrying lighted candles.[7] A secondary theme of this feast, however, was the preparation of the Temple for an intimate encounter with God, expressed chiefly in the processional chant "Adorna thalamum".[8] This was both a fitting end to the season of

Christmastide and a suitable transition to the next season, that of Lent.

Although the Church's year begins with Advent and Christmastide, these two seasons were not the first to be established in the Church's calendar.[9] The single event around which the Church's year was built was the death and resurrection of Christ, celebrated on Easter Sunday. Easter, with its preparatory season stretching back to Septuagesima Sunday, and with its celebratory season of Eastertide ending with the octave of Pentecost, was the first block of the Church's liturgy to reach its fairly permanent medieval form. It seems to have achieved this at an early stage, sometime before the period of Gregory the Great.[10]

Initially, it appears that the nascent Church commemorated the death and resurrection of Jesus and the coming of the Holy Spirit all in one celebration on Easter night (the night before Easter Sunday), with each Sunday throughout the year being a less elaborate celebration of this same event. All Sundays were thus "Resurrection days", and the medieval liturgy continued to mark Sundays with the imagery of light and triumph.

However, there is a limit to what the human mind can absorb all at once. In the New Testament we already see a transition, from a perception of the events of Easter as one complex mystery, to an unfolding of this mystery into a series of

distinct events separated in time. The initial position can be seen in the Gospel of John: here, for instance, the giving of the Holy Spirit occurs on Easter Day, when Jesus appears "cum sero esset die illo" in the Upper Room and breathes on his disciples.[11] In the Acts of the Apostles, on the other hand, we find described several stages in this process. First, the Ascension of Christ into heaven takes place forty days after Easter, at which point the Resurrection appearances to the disciples cease, since Jesus's earthly presence has now been definitively withdrawn from them. Next, there is a ten day period of waiting, to prepare the disciples for a more spiritual and widely available presence, that of the Holy Spirit; finally, this third Person of the Godhead descends on the disciples at Pentecost.[12] Here we see the germ of the Church's Calendar; further, it seems that the Church fairly soon separated out the events of Good Friday from those of Easter Sunday. With this sequence -- Good Friday, Easter Sunday, Ascension Day, Pentecost -- the idea is introduced of the deliberate commemoration of events in a sequence as close as possible to that found in the New Testament. The *anamnesis*, the "recalling" or "making present" of past events in current time becomes possible. The almost metaphysical relationship between the historic events of Jesus's life and their liturgical reenactment is repeatedly expressed in the Collects and prayers in the phrase "hodierna die", and particularly in the reiterated "hac nocte" of the liturgy of Easter night.

The problem with the liturgical reenactment of Christ's death and resurrection is that, through this concern for historical imitation, Easter became a "movable feast", that is, it fell on a different date each year. Since Christ died on the day before the Jewish feast of Passover, which depended on the phases of the moon, and since the Church also held the tradition that Christ was crucified on a Friday and rose on a Sunday, the western Church decided to take the first Sunday after the Passover full moon as the date of Easter each year. For symbolic reasons to do with the increase of light, the Passover moon had to occur after the Spring equinox on 21 March, thus establishing a period of four weeks, between the last week of March and the end of April, within which Easter could fall.[13] Since Easter itself was movable, so were the boundaries of the liturgical seasons dependent on it, occupying in all a stretch of about four months, from Septuagesima Sunday to the feast of Corpus Christi.

This long block of time seems to have been built up in stages, each of which has left its mark liturgically.[14] The first stage involves the three days either side of Easter, the Triduum beforehand, and Monday to Wednesday of Easter Week. The second stage includes Holy Week before Easter, beginning on Palm Sunday, and the whole of Easter Week after, at the end of which the newly-baptized removed their white robes. The two-week block of Passiontide seems to have developed next, and was at some point extended to a three week season of preparation in all; this season began at Laetare Sunday, which became Mid-Lent or Sunday

"in refectionibus" in the final scheme, when a break in the Lent fast was allowed. Eventually Christ's forty days of temptation in the wilderness were imitated, involving for the faithful forty days of fasting. However, Sundays, as joyful celebrations of the Resurrection, could not be counted as fast days; so, in order to achieve the desired total, four weekdays were added to the beginning of Lent, thus bringing its first day to Ash Wednesday, six and a half weeks before Easter. This was balanced approximately by Ascension Day, which fell forty days after Easter. Finally, the preparatory period was extended to eight weeks, beginning on Septuagesima Sunday, possibly in imitation of the eight-week Lent of the Byzantine Church.'[15] Whatever he reason for this final extension, liturgical commentators, such as Amalarius of Metz in the ninth century, were quick to develop the symbolic possibilities of the number seventy, based on the period of seventy days which now ran from Septuagesima to the end of Easter Week; they were compared, for instance, to the seventy years of the Babylonian captivity.'[16]

The period of two and a half weeks between Septuagesima Sunday and Ash Wednesday, which included the Sundays known as Sexagesima and Quinquagesima, formed a sort of pre-Lent, when the fast had not yet begun but the liturgy was already taking on its Lenten character. For example, the exclamation "Alleluia" was dropped and replaced by the words "Laus tibi, Domine, rex eternae gloriae". The meaning of the phrase is the same, but "Alleluia", being a cry of joy in Hebrew, the language of heaven, was felt

to be inappropriate to the time of exile in Babylon.[17] At Septuagesima, the Church also began at Matins the reading of the book of Genesis, reminding the faithful of Adam's fall and the subsequent history of man, which would be redeemed through Christ's resurrection at Easter. Septuagesima frequently fell before the Purification, and the last feast of Christmastide must have had all the more impact within the more mournful mood now being set.

For an event of the magnitude of Easter, the time of preparation embodied in Lent proper will be correspondingly intense. The themes of Lent are the judgement of God, with a special focus on his avenging wrath, and the individual's need for purification, both physical and spiritual, in order to avoid this wrath and find mercy instead. Many of the scriptural passages therefore involve the challenge of God to one's innermost conscience, and, in support of this, the hymns and antiphons emphasise the clarifying effect, on the eyes of the spirit, of physical abstinence.[18] All these themes are introduced on Ash Wednesday, when the faithful symbolically reenact the Hebrew custom of putting on sackcloth and ashes as a sign of abasement before God. There is, however, an underlying, more positive, theme of mercy and healing, and of cleansing the temple of the spirit in order to adorn it for the approaching feast. This facet of the Lenten liturgy reflects the early Church's practice of making Lent the final time of preparation for those who were to be admitted as new members of the Church.

Baptism, administered on Easter night, was the culmination of two years' apprenticeship, or "catechuminate". At the beginning of Lent, those catechumens who were ready were officially "enrolled" as candidates for baptism. In the medieval Church, when infant baptism had become the norm, Lent became instead a time of cleansing for those who had disfigured by open scandal the grace-filled identity they had received in baptism - that is, in the metaphorical language of the liturgy, those who had soiled their baptismal robe. At the beginning of Lent, therefore, notorious sinners were ceremonially cast out from the church, only to be fully readmitted to membership on Maundy Thursday.[19] For both new and old members, Easter thus figured as a moment of intimate encounter with God, an encounter of judgement, but also of acceptance and forgiveness, marked by the experience of new life.

Apart from these themes which apply to the individual believer, however, Easter is pre-eminently an event in the life of Christ. As the feast itself approaches, the Church sharpens its focus on the passion and death of Jesus, which were, for him, the necessary prelude to the Resurrection. The last two weeks of Lent therefore form a mini-season of their own: Passiontide. The antiphons and readings change to meditate exclusively on the sufferings of Christ, as expressed prophetically in the words of Isaiah and, above all, Jeremiah, another servant of God whose death was engineered by his enemies. The second week of Passiontide, known as Holy Week, formed the immediate prelude to Easter and had a unique character. The Passion of Christ was

read in its entirety at Mass from each of the four Gospels, from St. Matthew on Palm Sunday, St. Mark on Tuesday, St. Luke on Wednesday, and St. John on Good Friday. After Vespers on Wednesday began the Triduum, the three days of the Lord's Passion, for, like all liturgical days, the Triduum followed the Jewish custom of beginning on the previous evening.

The liturgy of the Triduum was distinctive. The Offices were stripped to the bare essentials -- basically, the psalms -- and denuded of their usual fretwork of antiphons, versicles and prayers. Most distinctively, Matins and Lauds were replaced by Tenebrae. In this Office, psalms and antiphons relating to the Passion of Christ were followed by sung lessons of great beauty; in particular, most of the book of Lamentations, describing the desolation of Jerusalem when the Jews were carried off into the Babylonian captivity, was sung in the course of the three sets of Tenebrae, i.e. those of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Two important ceremonies also occurred during the Triduum: the Mass of Maundy Thursday, commemorating the Last Supper, after which the altars were washed, and the Washing of the disciples feet was reenacted; and the Good Friday liturgy, in which St. John's Passion was read, the Cross venerated by the whole congregation while the chant known as the "Improperia" was sung, and after which the Host and Cross were buried in a symbolic sepulchre.[20] Holy Saturday would have been occupied, in the morning or the afternoon,[21] with the Easter Vigil liturgy properly belonging to Easter night, i.e. the night running from

Saturday to Easter Sunday. This elaborate service included the lighting of the new fire and of the Paschal candle to symbolise Christ's Resurrection, the blessing of fresh water in the font as a relic of the baptismal liturgy of the early Church, and the reading of many passages of Scripture, dwelling on the whole history of redemption from the beginning of time. It usually also included, as it would have done in the early Church, the first full Mass of Easter, when the newly baptised would have participated in the Eucharist for the first time.

In the fourteenth century, the Church had not restored, as it has in our own century, this most important service of the Church's year to its original role as a night vigil, culminating in the first Mass of Easter in the small hours of Sunday,[22] the time when, the Gospels suggest, the Resurrection took place. Instead, this crucial and mysterious moment was commemorated at Matins of Easter Sunday, in the "raising" of the Host and Cross from their place of burial.[23] After being carried to the altar in procession, the Cross was then venerated in a ceremony that parallelled the veneration on Good Friday; this is perhaps the "creeping to the cross" referred to in *Piers Plowman* (18: 431).[24] Another important aspect of Matins of Easter Day was the final respond, commemorating the visit of the women to the tomb. This respond was sung ceremonially by three clerics at the choir steps,[25] but shows no signs of developing into a more elaborate "Visitatio Sepulchri", as it had elsewhere at an earlier

date.[26] The English service-books of this later period seem to focus more narrowly on symbolic actions involving the Host.

After Easter, the liturgy is marked by a light-hearted brevity, compared to the rest of the year. It is full of Alleluias, and dwells on the Resurrection appearances of Christ, while the epistles of St. Paul are drawn on to express what the risen life means for the individual believer. The images are those of new birth, the new leaven of sincerity and truth, feeding like new-born lambs on spiritual milk. These images applied originally to the newly-baptised, who were the focus of the first week in Eastertide, since it was not until the evening of the Sunday after Easter, "Dominica in albis", that they were supposed to take off the white robes they had received at their baptism on Easter night.

The season of celebration lasted until the Sunday before Ascension Day, at which point there was a slight change. The Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Ascension were Rogation Days, days of fasting when God's blessing was called down on the new crops. The liturgy for Ascension Day itself stresses the triumph of Christ and his taking his seat at the right hand of God. With this withdrawal into heaven of the Lord's earthly body, the Paschal candle, which had burned daily at Mass throughout Eastertide, was removed,[27] and there followed the ten days of waiting for the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

The day before Pentecost was a fast day, in preparation for this "coming" of the third Person of the Godhead, and, liturgically, the feast was preceded by a vigil service which repeated all or some of the Scriptural readings of the Easter Vigil. The feast itself was full of the imagery of fire, derived from the tongues of flame that appeared on the brows of the disciples, and of rushing wind, echoing the wind that shook the whole house where the disciples were assembled (Acts 2:1-4). The week after Pentecost, its "octave", repeated these themes. The following Sunday, the feast of the Holy Trinity, allowed the Church to step back and take stock of what it had learned of the complex nature of the Godhead, now that not only the Father, but also the Son and the Holy Spirit, had been revealed to mankind. There are no Scriptural images for the Trinity, so that the feast stands out from the rest as curiously intellectual. Instead of playing with metaphors, it revels in paradoxical statements: "Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas, atque indivisa Unitas" - a kind of liturgical version of the Athanasian Creed.[28]

After Trinity Sunday, there remains only one feast that can be considered part of the Easter cycle: Corpus Christi. As said earlier, the Church had observed that the human mind can only absorb so much at once. On Maundy Thursday, when the Last Supper is commemorated, there are many facets of this event to consider. In its chronological place in the life of Christ, the Last Supper's dominant character is that of his last meal with the disciples. It is a leave-taking, in which he prophesies his

betrayal, and from which he goes out to his arrest in the garden of Gethsemane. In other words, it is one of the events of the Passion. It is also the context for Christ's last commandment to the disciples, "Love one another as I have loved you" (hence the word "maundy" from "mandatum"), illustrated by his washing of their feet, and it was to this aspect that the Church gave pôrminence on Maundy Thursday by the ceremony of foot-washing. All this leaves little room for what might be called the happiest aspect of the Last Supper, the establishment of the Eucharist. It is this aspect that was celebrated on the first "ordinary" Thursday available. It had to be a Thursday, following the principle of historic imitation, and it had to fall outside Eastertide itself, where every single day was a celebration of the Resurrection. Corpus Christi, a late feast, stresses the idea of being nourished by the bread of God. Its imagery is to do with corn and feasting. Theologically, it is enriched by the hymns of Thomas Aquinas, including the lovely sequence "Lauda Sion".

After Corpus Christi, Trinitytide, sometimes referred to as the "green" season from the colour of its vestments, ran an almost unbroken course until the following Advent. It is interrupted by one other seasonal rhythm, which we have not yet considered: the four sets of Ember Days, "Jejunium Quattuor Temporum", ancient quaterly fast days which came to be connected with the traditional times of clerical ordination, reaching their final form in the twelfth century.[29] They consisted of

the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of the third week of Advent, the first week of Lent, the week of Pentecost, and the week after Holy Cross Day (14 September). Liturgically, their importance lies in the lengthy Saturday "vigil" mass, which included five Old Testament readings, as well as the Epistle and Gospel; the last Old Testament reading was always that of the Three Children in the furnace, from the book of Daniel. Trinitytide, however, was chiefly enlivened by many important feasts of the saints, which, falling on the same date each year, are known as "fixed" feasts. To the fixed calendar, the Sanctorale, we will now turn.

b. The *Sanctorale*.

The date chosen for a saint's feast was usually that of the saint's death or conversion, where these could be ascertained. Where there was no information to go on, a date was selected for symbolic reasons. The development of the "fixed" calendar is in its own way as interesting as that of the "movable" calendar which we have been chiefly considering so far. Its basis seems to lie in taking the Spring Equinox (25 March, according to the Julian Calendar) as a starting point. The Church made of this the first day in the story of salvation, therefore the date of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary, marking the conception of Christ. (Later, the Church also held this to be the date of the first Good Friday, and the date of the creation of Adam.) By extension, the birth of Christ must occur nine months later, on

25 December. This date has the advantage, symbolically, of falling shortly after the winter solstice, when the light is beginning to increase. By analogy, the birth of St. John the Baptist, who said of Christ, "He must increase and I must decrease" (John 3:30), is placed on 24 June, the summer solstice, after which the days begin to shorten.[30]

Other important feasts, apart from 24 June, were that of SS. Peter and Paul on 29 June, the usual day for ordinations to the priesthood; the Assumption of the Virgin on 15 August; Holy Cross day on 14 September, when the Cross was celebrated in its positive and triumphant aspect as the means of salvation; Michaelmas on 29 September, accompanied by a cluster of lesser feasts celebrating St. Michael, St. Raphael and the other angels; and finally, at the beginning of November, the twin feasts of All Saints and All Souls. The latter formed a general remembrance service for the dead, and while the two feasts emphasise peace, rest and the hope of resurrection, they inevitably included meditation on judgement as well as mercy. This theme is chiefly expressed in one of the most famous hymns of the Middle Ages, the "Dies Irae", which was sung as the sequence at the Mass of All Souls.

These major fixed feasts are given "Propers" in the Sanctorale, the set of liturgical texts chiefly concerned with saints' days. That is to say, their constituent elements - antiphons, hymns, prayers, readings - are designed for that

particular feast alone. In the fourteenth century, there seems to have been an abundance of "proper" material which successive liturgical revisions down the centuries have eroded. In particular, any material that was not strictly Scriptural was eventually sifted out, whereas the medieval period seems to have delighted in composing antiphons based on general Scriptural images, such as sheaves of corn, combined with elements from the saint's "legend", the traditional account of his or her life. An example is the first Lauds antiphon of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which is also typical of a late medieval antiphon in having both rhyme and metre: "Granum cadit, copiam geminat frumenti; alabastrum frangitur, fragrat vis unguenti."[31] These antiphons must have added greatly to the poetic aspect of the liturgy.

However, since hundreds of saints were commemorated in the Church's year, many of them were not assigned a Proper. Instead, the necessary antiphons, hymns and so forth were taken from the "Common" of saints, Offices and Masses designed to fit a whole class of saintly persons. For example, there was a Common of Apostles, a Common of Martyrs, a Common of Confessors (i.e. "witnesses", a general term for Christian saints, applied by the liturgy to holy men), a Common of Virgins, and so on. These Commons, repeated fairly frequently owing to the great number of saints' days, introduce another important set of liturgical texts into the Church's year, whose existence must not be forgotten when considering possible liturgical influences on a given text.

Indeed, so many were the saints' days that ordinary days, the "ferias", became increasingly rare, although in the English rites they still occupy about half the Calendar.[32] This situation seems to have developed under Franciscan influence in the thirteenth century, for a practical reason: the ferial office was longer and more burdensome than the festal. At Lauds in the Benedictine Office, for example, the ferial canticles were about three times as long as those of feast days. In addition, it was on ferias that the extra devotions, such as the Office of the Dead and the Penitential Psalms, were said, a practice which seems to have spread outwards during the eleventh and twelfth centuries from monastic Orders such as the Cluniacs. On feast-days, on the other hand, the liturgical work was lightened considerably, and the Franciscan Order, sending out its members to lead demanding lives preaching and teaching among the poor, needed an Office that was manageable and did not take up a disproportionate amount of time. The simplest solution was to turn as many ferias into feasts as possible, a solution readily adopted by other Orders and, eventually, the secular clergy.[33]

To achieve this, apart from commemorating as many saints as possible, medieval liturgists were encouraged to make the most of Octaves, the eight days immediately following a major feast. As a result, several Octaves might overlap, and contain several saints' days as well. In order to fit all these elements in, a system of memorials was set up, whereby, although only the most important feast in question actually determined the office, the

other feasts were accorded a mention at the end of Lauds and Vespers. As described earlier, each memorial consisted of an antiphon, a versicle and a collect; a sequence of four or five therefore considerably lengthened the canonical office to which they were attached.

In order to establish which combination of memorials was to be said on any particular day, and which feast took precedence over the others, a set of directions called the Pica or Pie (from the "pied" appearance given it by its heavy use of red ink as well as black) was appended to the main liturgical books.[34] The result can perhaps be gauged from the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer (1549), which, having dismissed the late medieval Office as a "multitude of Responds, Verses, vain Repetitions, Commemorations and Synodals", comments with regard to the inevitable complexity of these directions: "Moreover, the number and hardness of the Rules called the Pie, and the manifold changings of the Service, was the cause, that to turn the Book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out."

It is from these commemorations of the saints, then, that the popular impression of the complexity of the medieval liturgy largely derives. But although the saints would have coloured the surface of the liturgy on a day-to-day level, this must not

obscure for us the underlying, more significant sweep of the Church's year.

As we have seen, the Church's year is chiefly designed to allow the commemoration, in a set order, of all the key events in the life of Christ, and thus to renew their impact on the individual believer and on the Church as a whole. In particular, it allows the yearly commemoration of the death and resurrection of Christ, which, theologically, formed the core of the Christian faith. It is also in this section of the year that commemoration and participation become most nearly identified, through a personal "death" of repentance and asceticism. In spite of the multitude of saints' days and other feasts throughout the year, Holy Week and Easter, with their attendant seasons of Lent and Eastertide, can thus be considered the liturgical core of the Church's life.

5. Determining liturgical boundaries.

a. The contents of liturgical books.

Having marshalled the material contained in the medieval Mass and Office, we now turn to where this material can be found.

Although normal procedure would suggest that one *begin* by listing one's sources, in the case of the liturgy two dificulties arise: the liturgical texts described above are distributed among several different types of service-books; and the service-books themselves contain additional material, not yet considered.

Fortunately, although there may appear to be a great variety of these books, entitled Collectars, Hymnaries, Legendaries and so on, in the late medieval period there are, for practical purposes, two: the Missal and the Breviary. The first contains all that is necessary for the Mass, and therefore gathers together the material that in previous centuries was distributed among Sacramentaries (the prayers said by the priest), the Lectionary (the Scriptural readings), and the Graduale (the sung chants). The Breviary likewise contained all that was necessary for the Office, combining collects, hymns, psalms, readings, and material for saints' days. Again, in earlier days, this material would have been distributed between different members of a collegiate or monastic choir, the hebdomadarian requiring a Collectar, the precentor and cantors an Antiphonal, and probably everyone a Psalter and Hymnal. At Matins, a Homiliary would be needed for the patristic readings, and a Legendary or Passionary for readings from the lives of the saints on their feast-days. Although in one way supplanted by the more convenient Missal and Breviary, these earlier books need to be kept in mind, as they continued to circulate side-by-side with them. For example, separate Graduals and Antiphonals allow

more space for musical notation, and separate Processionals more room to set out the processional prayers and antiphons in full. On the other hand, a Diurnal permits the private recitation of the day-hours, when a priest or monk is most likely to be away from his church on business, without carrying as well the far more elaborate material for Matins. As W. H. Frere's *Biblioteca Musico-Liturgica* shows,[1] separate Collectars, Psalters and Hymnals also continued to circulate right up to the Reformation.

The tendency to combine all the necessary parts of a service in one book emerges in England in the thirteenth century, and seems to have become standard by the fourteenth.[2] For example, the three earliest extant MSS. of the Sarum Missal, edited by Wickham Legg, all date from the thirteenth century. Earlier works, such as the eleventh-century "Leofric Missal" belonging to the diocese of Exeter, are more properly Sacramentaries, since they contain chiefly prayers.[3] The lists of English liturgical MSS. listed in Appendix III will confirm that although there are few Missals and Breviaries from the thirteenth century, there are many more from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of course, some of the thirteenth-century Missals will simply have fallen apart from constant use, but the disproportionate number surviving from the next century is still striking.

In the absence of a Missal or Breviary for a given region or monastic house, a useful substitute is the Ordinal. This

gives, in an abbreviated form, the antiphons and readings to be used day by day. It is a kind of quick-reference handbook, designed to be used in conjunction with a full Missal or Breviary. It needs to be distinguished from a Consuetudinary or Customary, which is concerned not with which texts are to be used each day, but with who is to say them and in what manner -- from the lectern, the altar-step, a choirstall, etc. There is often some overlap with the Ordinal, but from the point of view of giving information on antiphons, readings and so forth, the Consuetudinary is of very limited value. Unfortunately, in medieval texts it is often also referred to as the Ordinal, a point of confusion to which we shall return.[4]

However, there are liturgical books to be considered other than the Missal, the Breviary, and their constituent parts. These concern the sacraments of the Church, such as baptism and ordination. In contrast, the Breviary concerns only worship, and the Missal occupies the central position of the whole scheme by concerning both the Church's major act of worship and its most important sacrament, the Eucharist. However, the other sacraments and sacramental-type actions, such as the blessing and installation of an Abbot, also required a set, formal procedure in order to be valid, and were dependent on the presence of a priest or a bishop. To the extent that most of these were public acts, these other sacraments also involve services of public worship in church. Besides a Missal and Breviary, then, a priest would need a Manual, giving the forms for the "occasional

offices" of baptism, marriage and burial, and including a few minor blessings, such as those to be said over a new sword, a pilgrim's cloak, or a cow.[5] Although by the fourteenth century this material quite often appears at the end of the Missal, along with an increasing number of "votive" Masses (Masses with a particular focus that could be said at any time), the priest would need his Manual for various duties that only he could perform, such as the giving of absolution for sins and the anointing of the dying. He would also need the *Cautelae*, detailed instructions for the priest's actions during the Mass.[6] A bishop would need in addition a Pontifical, containing the services of ordination to all the various degrees of clerical orders, the consecration of churches, altars and graveyards, and a few other rites of blessing which could be performed only by bishops. These include the consecration of virgins, discussed below in the section on *Pearl*, the profession of monks, the enclosing of anchoresses, and, in the case of powerful prelates such as the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Abbot of Westminster, the coronation of the king and queen.[7]

To look at all the material in the liturgical books is therefore to widen the scope of the liturgy considerably. In particular, it extends it in the direction of sacred actions, where the stress is not so much on public worship as on authoritative enactments by the Church, changing the status of a person, place or object from secular to sacred. Since the focus here is particular -- *this* person, place, or object --, these

enactments, while formal (thus complying with one aspect of the definition given on p. 17), can be very private. There is no need to assume, for example, that the blessing of a sword would require the presence of more than the sword's owner and the priest. This question, concerning the public or private nature of some of the formal contents of liturgical books, also arises in connection, not this time with sacramental actions, but with purely devotional additions to worship. These take the form of extra material in the Breviary, which we will consider next.

b. Additions to the Office.

The most important of these additions was the Office of Our Lady, which was subjoined to the canonical Office, and considered almost as binding. It took a number of forms. The first was the "servitium plenum", which was used on all feasts of Our Lady, and was simply the canonical Office for the feast, given a Marian slant. The material for this "servitium plenum" came, as with any other feast, from the "Proper" for the day, or, failing that, from the "Common" of Our Lady. A Common was necessary, since feasts of Our Lady occurred throughout the year: the Purification (2 February), the Annunciation (25 March), the Assumption (15 August), the Nativity of Our Lady (8 September), the Conception (8 December). To these were added, in the course of the fifteenth century, the Visitation (2 July) and the Seven Sorrows or Compassion of the Virgin (15 September), and, in the

sixteenth, the Presentation of the child Mary in the Temple (21 November).[8] All these feasts had some proper material, but also drew on the Common, particulaly for responds, versicles, and hymns. The "servitium plenum" was chiefly significant, however, because it was used votively on Saturdays; that is, unless Saturday was occupied by some other feast, the ferial canonical Office was replaced by this "full Office" of Our Lady. The "full Office" varied according to the seasons of the Church's year, but not on a daily or weekly basis; it contained at most five or six sets of variant texts, those for Advent, Christmastide, Epiphany (sometimes), Lent, Easter and Trinitytide. Furthermore, the last three of these were so similar that they were often grouped together, so that in fact only three sets of directions are normally found: those for Advent, for Christmastide, and for the period from the Purification to the end of the year. The variations chiefly concerned the antiphons and the hymns. This "full office", being an integral part of the normal sequence of public, canonical offices, is always found in the Breviary.[9]

Apart from the "servitium plenum", there was the "officium parvum" of Our Lady, said daily. This had two forms: one said in public choirs, as an addition to the normal Office, and one said privately by the laity, in place of the normal Office. It was considered a "Little Office", as Matins consisted of only one Nocturn of three psalms, and the readings consisted of a mere sentence or so, often marked by rhyme and metre. Although the other Hours of Our Lady had the same structure as in the

canonical Office, the shortness of Matins lightened the overall burden considerably. It seems that, in choirs, Matins and Lauds of Our Lady would have followed immediately after canonical Matins and Lauds; the Little hours would probably have been said in one block, just before the daily Mass of Our Lady, all of which would have taken place in the Lady Chapel; Vespers of Our Lady would have followed immediately after canonical Vespers, and at the end of the day the same would apply to Compline. Like the "servitium plenum", this public form of the "officium parvum" would have shown variations according to the season, and the directions for these are again found in the Breviary.[10]

The private form of the "officium parvum", unlike the public one, was invariable, and was contained in separate books, the often lavishly decorated Books of Hours or Prymers.[11] The popularity of this Office among the laity, who commissioned these beautiful books, may be due not only to its relative brevity, but to its warm, consoling, positive character: all its psalms and texts are chiefly to do with the praise of God and the assurance of mercy. An invariable Office would have the further attraction of being a no-fuss version of the public Office: seasonal variations involve a lot of reading of rubrics and turning to different pages to find the appropriate texts. To produce an invariable Office, each locality made its own, often arbitrary, choice from the variations available, thus producing distinctive local "rites" among Books of Hours; these rites now have the advantage of helping scholars, particularly art historians, to

pinpoint their provenance.[12] These separate books, particularly in their manuscript versions where they could be added to by later hands, also contain other devotional material, some of it again borrowed from public worship, some of it more definitely domestic and private, such as grace before meals, prayers on going to bed, or prayers in time of temptation.[13]

Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of the office of Our Lady was its heavy reliance on the gradual psalms, at any rate in the cathedral rite,[14] at both the Little Hours and Vespers. This may help to explain, for instance, the heavy use of these psalms in the N-town play of the Presentation of Mary in the Temple. Commenting on this play, Peter Meredith points out that its treatment of the gradual psalms is not found in the play's obvious sources, such as the material in the Apocryphal Gospels.[15] Further, within the play itself, we find the admonition, "the fyftene psalms in memorye of this mayde say",[16] suggesting that the gradual psalms, although existing as a separate devotion in their own rite, were also specially connected with Our Lady in some way.

In the Office of Our Lady, then, we see an interesting gradation from a fully public, official act of worship, to a public act with a more quietly devotional feel to it, requiring adjournment to the more intimate space of the Lady Chapel, to a private devotion lumped together in the Prymer with prayers for definitely domestic or personal use.

The second most important addition to the Divine Office was the Office of the Dead. This was absolutely invariable, which meant that its psalms, antiphons and lessons became extremely well-known. It had no Little Hours, and therefore consisted of only two blocks of material: Matins and Lauds ("Dirige"), and Vespers ("Placebo"). In public use, it would come after the Office of Our Lady at "Matins" (i.e. Matins and Lauds) and Vespers, thus producing a three-fold office at these two high points of the day's worship.[17] However, the two blocks could also be said together, as an evening vigil, in which case Vespers came first, following the normal pattern of a "liturgical" day.[18] In structure, it shared with Tenebrae a denuded, ancient form; while there were three Nocturns at Matins, these were of three psalms each, and the total amount of material was not heavy. In its quietness and sobriety, it has its own beauty, and is grave rather than gloomy. Since it could also be used privately, it forms the second important element in the Prymer.

Various sequences of psalms are also shared by the Breviary and the Prymer, such as the seven penitential psalms said in Advent and Lent, the fifteen gradual psalms, said in monastic houses before Matins, and various litanies.[19] With all these, however, we are definitely moving into non-liturgical territory: they can be considered liturgical when appended to an office, but said on their own, as a self-contained devotion, they surely belong to the realm of personal, occasional prayer.

This question of whether we are dealing with liturgy or personal prayer also applies to various other "Little Offices", such as the Hours of the Holy Ghost or the Hours of the Cross, which do not appear in the Breviary, but can be found in the Prymer. It appears that these other Hours were simply added on to the Office of Our Lady: at the end of the Office, a memorial of the Holy Ghost would be added, in the form of an antiphon, a versicle and response, and a collect; then other memorials, for example of the Trinity or of All Saints. In other words, they parallelled the memorials said in the canonical Office at the end of Lauds and Vespers, but differed in being said at every Hour, not just at the major two. Only one set of psalms would be sung, those prescíbed for the Office of Our Lady. The Hours of the Cross are slightly more elaborate, in that they included a hymn for each hour, as well as a memorial. Although these devotions are in appearance designed for the laity, they seem to have been fashionable during the late medieval period even in monastic houses. Archbishop Peckham, writing to the nuns of Godstow in 1297, insists on the priority of the monastic Office and the daily Office of Our Lady over any new-fangled additions: "Ipsum autem officium praecise et integre praecipimus decantari; praecise, inquam, ut tam in missis chori, quam beatae virginis, excludantur per annum totum supervacuae novitates, nec novum aliquid inibi decantetur..." [20] It might be well, therefore, to take these extra devotions into account when considering the liturgy of this period, although they seem to have been considered non-liturgical even by the Church of their own day.

The arrangement of all these lesser "Offices" is set out with particular clarity in *The Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer Book*, a Middle English translation of the Prymer dating from c.1420-1430.[21] The existence of vernacular translations of these "Little Offices" give them added importance in relation to Middle English literature, as they provide an obvious bridge between the Latin of the original texts and the English of the poets and their audience. In addition, these lesser Offices, including those of Our Lady and the Office of the Dead, were perhaps the best-known "liturgical" texts of all, at least among the laity; certainly, it is this kind of material that Langland describes when he tells us, in *Piers Plowman* C.6:44-48, how he supported himself by reciting certain Offices. An example of possible influence from the Office of Our Lady, perhaps via a vernacular translation, may lie in Langland's wicket-gate imagery in *Piers Plowman* B.5:601-4:

> To wayven up the wiket that the womman shette
> Tho Adam and Eve eten apples unrosted:
> Per Evam cunctis clausa est et per Mariam virginem iterum
> patefacta est;
> For he hath the keye and the cliket, though the kyng slepe.

Maureen Hanna and J. F. Goodridge both refer to the hymn "Ave Maris Stella", with its description of Mary as "felix caeli porta" to explain this image. Hanna also refers to the hymn "O gloriosa domina", which addresses Mary as "Tu Regis alti janua".[22] It is this second hymn which is used in the *Lay Folks Prayer Book*, and which in Middle English suddenly sounds much closer to Langland: "Thou art wiket of þe hiȝ king, & þe greet ȝate of liȝt þat schyneþ briȝt". The same hymn refers to Eve:

"That sorie eue dide awey, þou ȝeldist wiþ hooli fruyt." Mary's inversion of the evil effect of the apple of Paradise is perhaps more closely brought out by the English "fruyt" than by the Latin "Tu reddis almo germine".[23]

All these additions to the Office extend the boundaries of the liturgy in the direction of private devotion. Indeed, some of the material in the Prymer seems to cross over the boundary altogether. This brings us to examining the relationship of the liturgy to other devotional literature in general.

c. The place of the liturgy within other medieval devotional literature.

The rather permeable boundary between liturgy and devotion has to be borne in mind even when discussing more strictly liturgical influence on a passage in literature: the source could lie in a popular series of devotions, rather than in the liturgy strictly speaking. A possible example lies in line B.16:88 of *Piers Plowman*, discussed in the Introduction: "Filius, be the Fader will and frenesse of Spiritus Sancti" [24]. As well as occurring in the prayers at the priest's communion, as previously pointed out, the relevant phrase also occurs in the *Liber Meditationum et Orationum* of St. Anselm.[25] This devotional collection, written in the late eleventh century, circulated widely among the laity as well as in monastic circles,[26] and

influenced some Middle Enlish works, such as *A Talking of the Love of God* [27]. The text of the relevant prayer, as given in Migne, begins:

> Domine Jesu Christe Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti, adoro et veneror hoc sanctum corpus tuum, et hunc sanguinem tuum, quod est traditum, et qui pro multis effusus est in remissionem peccatorum... [28]

Langland could, then, have been drawing on a body of devotional literature that overlaps somewhat with the liturgy, rather than on the liturgy itself. On the other hand, it could be that even the most purely clerical parts of the liturgy, concerning only the officiating priest, were used by the laity for personal devotion. An example, concerning this same Mass prayer with the same key phrase, occurys in Bishop Turgo's *Vita Sanctae Margaretae Scottorum Reginae*, where the queen dies with this prayer on her lips:

> Senserat illa mortem adesse, moxque orationem, quae post perceptionem Dominici corporis et sanguinis a sacerdote dici solet, incepit: "Domine," inquiens, "Jhesu Christe, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti, libera me." [29]

These examples suggest that the phrase Langland used was well-known, whether through the works of St. Anselm, or through the devotional use of liturgical material. Either way, it shows that we cannot argue anything about Langland's clerical status on the basis of what he seems to be familiar with in the Missal.

Turning to other forms of medieval literature, we find that just as prayers can migrate across the boundary into the literature of personal devotion, so some liturgical hymns appear in the form of Middle English lyrics, either as paraphrases or direct translations. The Pentecost hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus" is a particular favourite, perhaps because it was also sung at ordinations to the priesthood and at other "occasional offices" such as marriage or the taking of monastic vows.[30] The texts of Good Friday were also popular, such as the Reproaches and the refrain "Crux fidelis" from the hymn "Pange lingua gloriosi".[31] In any case, the Office hymns themselves are in essence devotional compositions which the liturgy has absorbed, and represent one of the few areas where the litugy could be updated from contemporary material: examples are the hymns of Thomas Aquinas written for the new Feast of Corpus Christi, or the hymn "Jesu Dulcis Memoria", traditionally ascribed to St. Bernard but nowadays to the English Cistercian Stephen Langton, which eventually finds a place in the Feast of the Holy Name.

Liturgical drama is another kind of devotional activity tacked on to the Office. The Officium Pastorum, for example, was designed to be performed either immediately before or after Matins, and the Ordo Rachelis near the end of Matins.[32] However, this material, instead of growing out of private prayer, is by its very nature public: it necessitates the coming together of several people, and is enhanced by an audience. It reflects this

public nature in its use of antiphonally recited texts, lending themselves to elaboration as dramatic dialogues.

The liturgy can, then, provide a way into a whole network of medieval literature. It can be seen as lying at the centre of medieval religious culture, and its boundaries therefore shade off on all sides into related fields of writing, to which it may often provide a key.

For the purpose of completing our survey of medieval liturgical material, the working definition of the liturgy given at the outset needs to be refined: where are we to place the boundaries of liturgical activity? At one end of the spectrum, liturgy shades off into personal devotion. For example, people can choose to say their private prayers in church, using set forms to do so; if several people -- say the members of a guild -- meet in order to use set prayers together in church, perhaps first attending a celebration of the Mass, are they doing something public or private? Official or informal? Again, a lay-person might say privately at home the Little Office of the Virgin, which a monastic community or college of priests would sing publically together in church, as a routine part of the daily Office: are Prymers and Books of Hours, therefore, containing the Office of the Virgin for private use, to be classed as liturgical books or as private prayer-books? [33] At the opposite end, the liturgy shades off into ecclesiastical organization and canon law. For example, if there are rules

governing who is to do what in the liturgy, where do these rules cease to be necessary descriptions of liturgical actions -- e.g. at the Easter Vigil the deacon is to sing the Exultet, and at a certain point within it to light the Pachal Candle [34] -- and become matters of Church discipline, e.g. at any Mass the deacon may read the Gospel but not consecrate the Eucharist? What also are we to make of prayers which the laity are encouraged to use *during* the celebration of Mass, e.g. those in *The Lay-Folks' Mass-Book*, and various devotions at the Elevation of the Host? [35]

While a liturgiologist would show equal interest in all the material discussed in this chapter, a student of Middle English will probably wish to make some distinctions. In relation to other medieval literature, the Missal and Breviary probably remain central. The more purely ritual material -- most of that in the Customary, and some in the Pontifical and Manual -- will be difficult to apply in a literary context, unless certain ritual actions are clearly indicated. On the other hand, much of the material tending towards private devotion will be of interest, if only because of its popular nature and its existence in vernacular translations, which provide an obvious connection with vernacular religious literature in general. Since a lot of material jostles for our attention at this end of the liturgical spectrum, at some point scholars will perhaps wish to draw some firm boundaries here, and sort the material into different categories. Are devotions such as the Hours of the Holy Ghost usefully classed as liturgy, or are they private devotions with a

liturgical format? Are vernacular translations of liturgical hymns more usefully considered as liturgy or as part of the general body of Middle English lyrics? Until more of this devotional material has been explored and applied, however, it will not be possible to draw up genuinely helpful categories.

For the present, one can be aware that the particular vitality of the medieval liturgy did cause it to constantly to expand its boundaries in the ways discussed above, and that the full range of its material is therefore extensive. Because of its central place in medieval life, it is important that Middle English scholars should be aware of this range, be familiar with much of the liturgy's content, and be able to find their way round easily within it.

CHAPTER II. THE PROBLEMS POSED BY THE DIFFERENT LOCAL RITES.

1. Characteristics of the different rites.

Having explored the general characteristics of the medieval liturgy, we now need to turn to the specific problem presented by the existence of several different rites within England. As we saw in the Introduction, this problem has begun to exercise some scholars, and needs to be addressed if liturgical material is to be used with confidence in the interpretation of individual Middle English works.

The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer of 1662, in its section "Concerning the Service of the Church", has made us familiar with the names of the main liturgical Uses in England on the eve of the Reformation:

> ... heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm: some following Salisbury Use, some Hereford Use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln...

The existence of a plurality of rites in late medieval England raises several questions. First, to what extent and in what ways did these rites differ? Secondly, what was the general currency and / or geographical extent of each? Thirdly, what changes, if

any, took place within the rites and in their relative importance during the two hundred years that separate the Reformation from the age of Langland and Chaucer?

The various "rites" in England are all variations of the ancient "Roman rite", brought to England by St. Augustine of Canterbury, and distinguished by the Anglo-Saxons from the Celtic rite brought over by the Irish missionaries. From the point of view of an officiating priest, concerned with the wording and ritual of the Ordinary of the Mass and, in particular, the Canon, there is virtually nothing to distinguish the English rites from one another, or from that used in late medieval Rome. Despite the minor differences pointed out by William Maskell in his *Ancient Liturgies of the Church of England*,[1] we are not dealing with different rites in the sense that the Byzantine rite is clearly different from the Roman, as were the ancient Mozarabic and Ambrosian rites, or the Celtic rite, as far as that can be ascertained.[2] For that reason, the English rites are often referred to as "Uses", and if we were discussing more than the Roman family of rites, it would be convenient to use that term. Since, however, the rite used in late medieval Rome is itself a variation on the basic pattern, having evolved from the liturgy of the Papal Curia in the course of the thirteenth century, rather than from the liturgy of the ancient Roman basilicas,[3] we would have to talk about the "Roman Use of the Roman rite", which seems unnecessarily complicated. In addition, "Use" is sometimes used specifically of ritual movement, as in W. H. Frere's *Use of*

Sarum,[4] or of variations in the plainsong music which frequently accompanies the texts. Consequently, this thesis follows a well-established convention, already adopted by Archdale King, W. Maskell and C. Vogel, in referring to the English "rites".[5]

Notwithstanding this membership of one basic family, from the point of view of students of literature, who are chiefly concerned with verbal sources and parallels, the rites do present differences that are worth taking into account. In the Missal these differences concern the lectionary, the sacramentary, and ceremonies such as the Imposition of Ashes on Ash Wednesday, the Palm Sunday procession, or the Burial of the Cross and Host on Good Friday. In the Breviary, while an underlying common stock of material is in evidence, each rite will present the material in a different order, have a few antiphons not found in the other rites, and, as already mentioned, show considerable differences in the choice of patristic readings at Matins.

The differences in the Mass lectionaries are set out in Appendix II, Tables 1-5 (pp. 299-316). In the English group, these readings are taken from the Sarum, York and Hereford rites. The rite of Bangor is completely lost, while only a tiny fragment of Lincoln, covering part of Advent, remains. This fragment has been carefully analyzed by W. Henderson in his edition of the York Missal, and its lectionary shown to be distinctive, to the same extent that those of Hereford and York are distinctive.[6] In the Tables, the Roman rite is also included, for two reasons: to

show in what ways the English rites depart from what might be assumed on the basis of the Tridentine rite; and because this was the rite used all over Europe by the Franciscan Order,[7] who had a strong presence in England, and whose involvement in certain areas of Middle English literature, such as lyrics, is already established.[8] In the Table, the Roman readings have been taken from the first printed Missal of 1474, and checked as being identical with those of the Franciscan rite, as represented in English thirteenth-century exemplars;[9] the readings are also those of the Tridentine rite, which vary from the earlier Roman readings only for the fifth Sunday after Epiphany and for Trinity Sunday.

It will be seen from Appendix II, Table 1, that the readings for Sundays are uniform across the English rites, except for the first Sunday of Advent, the fifth Sunday after Epiphany, and Trinity Sunday. This is because the liturgy for these days appears to have been finalised fairly late. Advent was the last season of the year to be established in the western Church, and nobody, it seems, was sure how to cater for the variable number of Sundays between Epiphany and Septuagesima. Trinity Sunday, for its part, was earlier treated either as the Octave Day of Pentecost, or as the first Sunday after Pentecost, thus producing three possible sets of readings for that day, as Sicard of Cremona explains.[10] The Sunday readings do, however, vary from the Roman rite. Scrutiny of the Table will show that this variation is due to a dislocation in the sequence of Gospels in

the Roman rite, which has somehow got out of step by one Sunday. The English lectionary corresponds to the one that can be reconstructed from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century liturgical commentators, such as Sicard, mentioned above, and John Beleth. One therefore deduces that some accident befell the books of the Roman Curia during the important phase of the Roman rite's development in the thirteenth century. The sequence of Epistles, however, remains the same as in the English rites, so that a series of quite different Masses is produced, with different thematic connections between the Epistle and Gospel. This means that while a commentator like John Beleth, the Chancellor of Paris University, could be used in England in the fourteenth century, he could not have been used in Rome. This dislocation, among several other factors, might explain why the vogue for commentary on the liturgical readings decreased markedly after the thirteenth century.

On weekdays, on the other hand, great variety exists in the Mass readings, as shown in Table 2 (pp. 303-308). Mass was, of course, celebrated daily, and where no readings are specified, the Sunday readings were simply repeated. However, some weekdays would have been occupied by Saints' days. In addition, particularly where more than one Mass was said each day, there was the practice of saying votive Masses on certain days of the week: Mass of the Holy Trinity on Sundays, of the Angels on Mondays, the Mass "Salus populi" (for all the faithful) on Tuesdays, Mass of the Holy Spirit on Wednesdays, of the Blessed

Sacrament on Thursdays, of the Cross on Fridays, and of Our Lady on Saturdays.[1] Consequently, it is not surprising that the Roman rite provides no weekday Mass-readings as such, except in Lent and at certain other times, such as the twelve days of Christmas and the Octave weeks of Easter and Pentecost. The English rites, however, provide readings for Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year in the case of York and Hereford, and for Wednesdays and some Fridays in the case of Sarum. Although the rites often share an Epistle or a Gospel, they usually juggle them in such a way as to produce three quite different Masses on any given day, and sometimes all the six readings involved are different. The weekdays between Epiphany and Septuagesima are examples, as is Wednesday after the fourth Sunday after Trinity. The latter is particularly helpful, as the Epistles come from different books of the New Testament, and in a manuscript one can therefore tell at a glance, just from the heading of the Epistle, which rite one is dealing with.

In contrast, the major seasons of the Church's year present hardly any variations across the rites, whether on Sundays or weekdays. From Ash Wednesday to Easter Week, for example, there are readings for every day of the week, in both the English and the Roman rites, but virtually the only variation occurs in the Roman / Franciscan Gospels for Thursdays in Lent (see Table 3, pp. 309-311). This is again due to a late development, whereby Thursday came to be considered a "liturgical" day meriting celebration, in commemoration of the institution of the Eucharist

at the Last Supper on Maundy Thursday. In the twelve days of Christmas, there are variant readings for SS. Thomas Becket and Silvester, simply because different options have been selected from the relevant Commons of Saints, while there is a hesitation over the sixth day of Christmas, which most rites treat as identical with Sunday in the Christmas Octave (see Table 4, pp. 312-313). Again, the Ember Days, the ancient quarterly fast-days of the Church, show variation only in the week of Pentecost (see Table 5, pp. 314-316). Here, there seems to have been some unease about the occurrence of penitential fasts within the Octave of Pentecost, a week of celebration on a par with Easter Week, and this may have led to some revision of the readings.

Where surprising variation *does* occur, is in the readings for the vigils of Easter and Pentecost (also in Table 5). Like Ember Saturdays, which also have a vigil-type structure, they include a series of Old Testament readings as well as the Epistle and Gospel. One would expect these two most solemn vigils of the Church's year to have been established early, and to have a uniform set of readings. Instead, we find twelve Old Testament readings in the Roman rite, contrasting markedly with a mere four in Sarum and Hereford, and five in York. The readings do not vary much across the English rites: Sarum and Hereford differ only in their fourth reading, while York has five readings simply by including the fourth readings *from* both the other rites. This brevity, also found in Rouen and other French rites, may have been a late development, brought to England by the Normans. The

twelve readings of the Roman rite have an ancient pedigree: the oldest text of them that has come down to us, identical with the late medieval readings in all respects, is in the Comes of Murbach, which dates from the late eighth century, and seems to belong to a group of liturgical manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon origin. These twelve readings also occur in later texts connected with England, such as the Leofric Missal.[12] A glance at the lists in Table 5 will show that the English readings have been selected from the Roman list, corresponding to Roman readings 1, 4, 8, 11 and 5. The Roman Easter readings also underlie the selection for Pentecost, where once again Sarum and Hereford have four readings, and York five. This time they correspond to readings 3, 11, 8 and 6, in the case of Sarum and Hereford, and readings 3, 4, 8, 11 and 6 in the case of York. The Roman rite itself repeats only six of the readings from the Easter list: 2, 3, 11, 8, 6 and 7. At Pentecost, therefore, the variation is far less striking. The possible significance of the difference in the Easter Vigil readings, however, is a point we shall return to.[13]

If we now turn to the prayers in the Mass, we find that the opening Collect rarely varies, but that the Secret and Post-Communion prayers frequently do. As an illustration, we can look at the first few weeks of the season of Septuagesima, the part of the year which is normally the most uniform in regard to liurgical texts. The opening Collect varies only for Thursdays in the Roman rite, which, as mentioned above, underwent late

revision. The Secret, however, is often distinctive in Sarum, while the other rites have the same, different, prayer: examples occur on Sexagesima Sunday, Saturday after Ash Wednesday, and Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday after Lent I. The differences are substantial: the Sarum prayer for Sexagesima reads,

> Intende quesumus domine hostiam familie tue. ut quam sacris muneribus facis esse participem. tribuas ad eius plenitudinem peruenire.

The prayer in the Hereford, York and Roman rites reads:

> Oblatum tibi, Domine, sacrificium vivificet nos semper, et muniat.

Sometimes, it is York that is the maverick: on Thursday after Lent I, for example, it has its own Secret and final Super Populum prayer, while Sarum agrees with Hereford and Rome. At other times, three underlying sacramentaries seem to be present: Hereford's Super Populum prayer for Saturday after Ash Wednesday is the same as Rome's, but differs both from that of Sarum and from that of York. While most of the prayers in all these rites can be traced to one or other of the ancient sacramentaries of the western Church, such as the Gregorian or Leonine, Wickham Legg points out that some do seem to be unique to Sarum.[14]

Of more interest to most of the laity attending Mass would be the variations in the ceremonies on such days as Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday and Good Friday. We will take Ash Wednesday as an example.[15] In all the rites, the Mass proper was

preceded by the ceremony of the Imposition of Ashes, marking the beginning of the Lent fast. In the Roman rite, the simplest in this case, the ceremony can be divided into two sections: the Blessing of Ashes, and the Distribution of the Ashes. The blessing begins with an antiphon, "Exaudi nos", and then involves four collects, one of which, "Deus qui non mortem", also occurs in the Sarum rite, while the other three are distinctive. The ashes are then distributed, "imposed", by being smeared in the shape of a cross on the brow of each person, with the words, "Memento homo quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris". Meanwhile, two antiphons, "Immutemur" and "Iuxta vestibulum", are sung, followed by the respond "Emendemus". The ceremony ends with a final collect. In the English rites, this ceremony is sandwiched between two other elements: at the beginning, the seven penitential psalms with an antiphon, followed by a long series of preces, up to seven collects, and a prayer of absolution; at the end, the solemn Ejection of Penitents from the church, which would be balanced by their solemn reconciliation on Maundy Thursday.[16]

If we look at the English rites in more detail, taking the opening material first, we find that the three English rites all have the same antiphon, but there are some variations in the preces. Hereford's four collects are all selected from Sarum's seven, but the third of York's six collects is distinctive. Hereford and York share an absolution prayer that is different from Sarum's. York in any case has a more complicated format,

since it inserts all this opening material between the Blessing of Ashes and the Distribution. When we come on to the Blessing of Ashes itself, there is no opening antiphon; possibly the antiphon in the Roman rite is a relic of an older order which included opening psalms of some sort. Sarum and York have two collects (the same, though in reverse order), against Rome's four, while Hereford only has Sarum's second collect; since this is "Deus qui non mortem", the one also shared by the Roman rite, it is perhaps the most ancient and important of the prayers. At the Distribution, the English rites use slightly different words from the Roman ones: "Memento homo quia cinis es et in cinerem reverteris". Meanwhile, in the Sarum rite three antiphons are sung, "Exaudi nos", "Iuxta vestibulum" and "Immutemur", all of which are used in the Roman rite, though not all in the same place. York and Hereford both have only the first antiphon here, which they draw out by repeating it between the verses of psalm 68 (A.V. 69). Sarum then rounds off the Distribution with two collects, the second of which, "Concede nobis", corresponds to the Roman final collect. York, however, has only one collect, "Deus qui humiliatione flecteris", which corresponds to the third Roman prayer at the Blessing of Ashes, and is not found elsewhere in the English rites. Hereford has no collect at this point.

We now come to the Ejection of Penitents. Sarum has the briefest ceremony. After a procession to the great west doors of the church, two responds are sung, both concerning Adam's expulsion from Paradise, while the bishop or his representative

takes each penitent by the right hand and formally puts him out of the church. The doors are then closed, and as the procession returns, the respond "Emendemus" is sung; possibly the presence of this particular respond at the end of the Roman rite is another relic, recalling a time when it, too, included the Ejection of Penitents. The ceremony in York is a little more elaborate: three responds, including "Emendemus", are sung while the penitents are cast out, and after the closing of the doors, the first Sarum respond, "Ecce Adam" (which includes a reference to the Cherubim guarding the tree of life with a flaming sword), is sung to poignant effect. Psalm 66 (A.V. 67) is then said, and the whole ceremony ends with the Collect for Septuagesima. The ceremony in Hereford is rendered yet more solemn by the singing of two antiphons, the two Sarum antiphons not used at the Distribution of Ashes, during the procession to the west doors. A third long antiphon, peculiar to Hereford, is sung during the actual casting out of the penitents. After the closing of the doors, the respond "Ecce Adam" is sung, as in York.

The character of each of the rites which begins to emerge from this study of Ash Wednesday is reflected in the other ceremonies. Sarum, though often overloaded with collects, tends to be fairly businesslike; York usually has a fuller ceremony with one or two distinctive texts of its own; and Hereford is often the most elaborate, with a strong poetic quality to its texts. On Good Friday, for example, the English rites have the ceremony of the Burial of the Cross and Host, which is not

recorded in the Roman rite.[17] After the Veneration of the Cross, the cross itself, representing the body of Christ, was buried in a "sepulchre", accompanied by antiphons and responds taken from the Office of Tenebrae.[18] In Sarum and Hereford, a consecrated host, further representing the body of Christ sacramentally, was also placed in the sepulchre. In Hereford, the very full selection of Tenebrae material used for this double burial, all connected with the Passion of Christ, makes this a particularly moving ceremony. This distinctiveness of Hereford is attributed by Edmond Bishop, in his study of the Palm-Sunday processions of Sarum and Hereford, to heavy influence from the Rouen rite.[19] Since Rouen was also reputed to underlie the liturgical customs of Lincoln, perhaps Hereford gives us some idea of the Lincoln rite's general character.[20]

The variations between the rites in the Divine Office, as opposed to the Mass, are less easy to characterise. They are illustrated by the material in Appendix IV (pp. 324-329), which sets out the Common of Virgins in all the English rites, as well as in the Benedictine Office; this material is discussed in the section on *Pearl*. It will be seen that Sarum and Hereford have much in common, while York has a stronger character of its own, and shares some material with the Benedictine Office. As each rite has at least a small amount of material peculiar to itself, it is worth bearing the whole range in mind when looking for possible liturgical sources for an image or a phrase in a Middle English text.

As we have seen, the tendency among Enlish Literature scholars has been to take the Sarum rite as their point of departure. This tendency no doubt springs from the particular emphases and interests of the nineteenth-century liturgiologists, whose editions of the medieval service-books furnish us with the most readily accessible information on the medieval liturgy. We must therefore ask what their interests were, and how these affected their choice of texts.

2. The present state of knowledge: existing liturgical studies.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, developments in England within both the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches led to a new interest in the pre-Reformation liturgy. On the Catholic side, the re-establishment in 1850 of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, with Cardinal Wiseman as first Archbishop of Westminster, was accompanied by an effort to demonstrate the inherent Englishness of Roman Catholicism in this country. This movement produced Daniel Rock's monumental four-volume study, significantly named "The Church of Our Fathers".[1] Appearing first in 1849, it proved to be one of the foundation-stones of studies in the English liturgy, endeavouring to cover the entire period from the sixth century to the Reformation, and showing as

great an interest in chuch furnishings and architecture as in liturgical texts. Although subsequent studies convicted it of many inaccuracies, its value was such that it was revised and reissued half a century later, this time by two Anglicans, G. W. Hart and W. H. Frere. The general tenor of the work was that our English forebears down the centuries engaged in a great variety of beautiful ceremonies in Church, which were not only meaningful in themselves but closely woven into the texture of everyday life; modern Englishmen, therefore, need not feel that there is anything inherently 'foreign', or alien to English reserve, in elaborate ritual. The English Benedictines continued the work begun by Rock, bringing to it a spirit of rigorous scholarship. The emphasis of all these studies, for example H. J. (Dom Philibert) Feasey 's *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*,[2] was primarily on ritual action, on what was *done* in church.

The Anglicans, for different reasons, had similar interests. In the early nineteenth century, the Anglican Church appeared to be chiefly conscious of its Protestant inheritance, with its main emphasis on the reading of Scripture in church and and the preaching of sermons. In earlier periods, such as that of the Caroline Divines in the sevententh century, the Church of England had been more aware of her Catholic inheritance, but in the sense of drawing for her doctrine on the teaching of the undivided Church of the first few centuries. In both cases, the practices of the late medieval Church tended to be seen as a regrettable deviation.

The late nineteenth century, however, saw the growth of the Ritualist movement. Inspired by the rediscovery of a "Catholic" understanding of the Eucharist and other sacraments in the writers of the Tractarian movement, the Ritualists sought to embody this understanding in appropriate gestures and ceremonies.[3] They therefore turned to the liturgy of late medieval England, with, again, a concern to show the English pedigree of many of these ceremonies. F. H. Dickinson, editing the Sarum Missal in 1883, comments:

> The Roman Service Books have been altered since the Reformation; and, without impugning the good intentions and good faith of those who altered them, it may at least be permitted to us to study the unaltered forms which were in use here in our own country, and which are naturally most akin to our Prayer-Book, and to learn what we can of the modes of worship of our forefathers, and of those who lived in the earliest days of the Church, in the books of this country, rather than from books which contain the traditions of foreign lands." [4]

The existence of specifically English rites, such as Sarum, which differed from the Roman rite, enabled these writers to point out that it is possible to be "Catholic" without necessarily being "Roman Catholic". Consequently, the movement emphasised the continuity of English church life, playing down the hiatus caused by the Reformation.

The motivation behind the Ritualists' study of medieval liturgy could be described as practical rather than scholarly. A typical title is that of a study by J. D. Chambers: *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,*

Contrasted with and Adapted to that in the Nineteenth.[5] This approach can be seen too in H. E. Reynold's edition of the Legenda Sanctorum of the Exeter Use: research into the uses of "our great ecclesiastical establishments in the days of their highest beauty and perfection, architectural as well as ceremonial", he says, "will have a very distinct influence upon those members of the Church, whose objection to a more ornate, and, to say the least, decent and cheerful performance of the Divine Service, is merely founded on the argument of disuse...". [6] Once again, the emphasis was chiefly on what was *done* in church. Texts, when they were studied, were examined primarily in relation to the sacramental (as opposed to devotional or didactic) content of the Eucharist. For example, William Maskell's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* examines four English rites (Sarum, Hereford, York and, according to him, Bangor), by setting out the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass in each, along with that of the Roman rite.[7] The readings and other variable texts were only of interest when connected with the celebration of Saints' days, as these represented another element in the recovery of Catholic tradition.

What, then, was the effect of the foregoing on the nineteenth-century editors of the Missals and Breviaries of the English rites? Their interests strongly influenced their *choice* of texts. Firstly, they wished to make available the medieval liturgy in its most elaborate form: this meant a preference for

fifteenth and sixteenth century texts, which included "new" feasts such as the Transfiguration and Visitation. Secondly, their interest in ritual gave value to texts with very full rubrication, and in general, the printed editions, particularly those after 1500, were far more informative than the MSS. Even among MSS texts, one with lacunae in the Scriptural readings would be chosen in preference to a more complete text, if it had fuller rubrics. Thirdly, the most interesting section of the lectionary was considered to be the Sanctorale, with its colourful stories of the Saints.[8] All this results in a prejudice against careful examination of the Scriptural readings that establish the changing themes of the Church's year. A typical introduction will include a statement on the lines of, "The Sarum Breviary has been taken as the standard of comparison for everything except Biblical passages", which remain uncollated.[9]

As a result, when F. H. Dickinson edited the Sarum Missal, he confined himself to a survey of printed editions, choosing the 1526 edition as his base text. Similarly, Procter and Wordsworth, editing the Sarum Breviary, chose the Great Breviary of 1531 as their base text, again confining themselves to collating printed editions. Since they had 277 extant copies and fragments to contend with,[10] one can hardly blame them; but this does mean that students wishing to consult a fourteenth-century Breviary are not even provided with a list of manuscripts from which to begin their research. The York Missal and Breviary,

published by the Surtees Society, are likewise based on printed editions; in this case, a list of manuscript sources is provided, but tucked away at the back of volume II of the Missal,[11] where few scholars have found it. Similarly, the Henry Bradshaw Society, wishing to provide scholars with a Roman Missal with which to compare the English rites, chose the first printed edition of 1474.[12] One notable exception to this trend is the edition of the Hereford Breviary, which, while taking the single printed copy of 1505 as its base, carefully collates it with the five extant manuscripts. Furthermore, an eventual desire for a more precise chronological study of the texts can be seen in Wickham Legg's 1916 edition of the Sarum Missal, which points out that the earlier edition "fails to give precise knowledge of the rite as it was before printing came into existence",[13] and which draws on the three earliest known Sarum manuscripts. However, this did not lead to fresh editions of the other rites.

One further result of this preference for sixteenth-century editions as base texts was the degree of importance accorded to the Sarum rite. We have seen that the preface to the 1549 Prayer-Book mentions five local rites, but the assumption of scholars has been that Sarum was dominant. This springs from the fact that far more copies of the Sarum rite have come down to us than of the others, and that Sarum was imposed by statute on the whole province of Canterbury, displacing the rites of Lincoln, Hereford and Bangor, on 3 March 1541/42:

> Reverendissimus [i.e. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer] de consensu patrum decrevit usum et morem ecclesiae Sarum observandum esse ab omnibus et singulis clericis per provinciam Cantuar. in horis suis canonicis dicendis, sub poena arbitrio cujuslibet ordinarii in contrarium facientibus infligenda. [14]

This certainly implies that Sarum was already the most widespread of these rites, but not necessarily that this statute was a kind of natural culmination of Sarum's growth. Rather, this statute, imposed by Cranmer two years after the Dissolution of the monasteries, can be seen as a preparatory stage in the imposition of Reformed service-books, introducing the idea of uniformity.

Students of Middle English Literature, for their part, have been interested, as shown in the Introduction, chiefly in the unfolding of the Church's year, as revealed in Scriptural and Patristic readings at Matins and Mass, rather than in the actions involved in the celebration of the sacraments. Their interests inevitably lie predominantly in the verbal content of the texts, and for them the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are the crucial period, not the sixteenth. As can be seen from this brief review of liturgical studies, tools properly suited to their needs are not at present in existence. The next section of the thesis therefore attempts to provide some of these tools.

3. Tools for the further study of medieval rites.

a) The Lectionary.

The first task has been to counterbalance the reluctance of the liturgiologists to engage in careful study of the Scriptural texts. To this end were drawn up the comparative tables in Appendix II (pp. 299-316), which set out the Mass readings of the three extant English secular rites and of the Roman rite, and which have already been used above in establishing the rites' different characteristics.[1] These tables, presented in this thesis for the first time, are designed to serve the needs of Middle English students, since it is on the readings of the Mass and their thematic links (as seen in the works reviewed in the Introduction) that scholars have chiefly drawn in relation to Middle English texts. The Tables therefore provide a way of determining at a glance the set of readings for any day in the normal course of the year (i.e. in the "Temporale"), in the four rites concerned. Secondly, by setting out the differences between the rites from the point of view of the lectionary, they help to pinpoint these differences in a way that is useful to Middle English scholars, where concentrating on other differences, such as those in the prayers, might be less useful. Thirdly, they provide a means of distinguishing between manuscripts of different rites, on internal evidence, that has

substance while being relatively easy to apply. This point is discussed further below (p. 113).

b) The manuscripts.

The second task has been to alter the focus of liturgical studies from the printed books of the sixteenth century back to the manuscript books of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. To establish whether the sixteenth-century rites differ at all from their earlier counterparts, and whether additional rites existed in the earlier period, it is desirable to have as comprehensive an overview of the existing manuscript material as possible.

To this end, this thesis has attempted to establish a working handlist of the relevant liturgical manuscripts which are still extant, and which are not so fragmentary as to be of interest only to experts (see Appendix III, pp. 317-322). Many liturgical fragments do in fact exist, largely recovered from bindings: at the Reformation, old liturgical books obviously became prime candidates for dismemberment and re-use in this way.[2] Leaving aside fragments, then, and excluding Prymers and Books of Hours, but otherwise including all the different types of liturgical books mentioned above,[3] we find approximately a thousand liturgical manuscripts of British or Irish origin, which can be located in British libraries. This includes the

books of monastic and religious communities, as well of cathedrals and parishes. When we consider that we are dealing with twenty-one (pre-Reformation) dioceses within England and Wales, as well twelve in Scotland and a handful in Ireland, and that medieval England had its fair share of Abbeys and Friaries, this is not in fact a particularly large number.

Of these manuscripts, the lists in Appendix III confine themselves to the Missals and Breviaries of the Sarum rite, all manuscripts related to the York rite (other than Prymers), and all manuscripts related to the Hereford rite. These lists are more or less complete, as far as can be ascertained from the present state of knowledge. The backbone of these lists comes from W. H. Frere's *Biblioteca Musico-Liturgica*,[4] which catalogues all liturgical manuscripts, whether English or foreign, to be found in libraries in the British Isles, other than in the British Library itself. The lists in Appendix III therefore comprise the English manuscripts taken from Frere, combined with those in the British Library catalogues, and checked against more recent catalogues of manuscripts.[5] The list of Sarum Missals has been cross-checked with the provisional list provided by Wickham Legg in *Tracts on the Mass*, and added to by him in his edition of the Sarum Missal.[6]

The relatively small number of liturgical manuscripts in England is probably due not just to normal loss and disintegration over time, but to the thoroughness with which

these manuscripts were deliberately destroyed. The introduction of the Prayer-Book of Edward VI in 1549 was accompanied by a statute ordering the destruction of all previous service-books:

> Be it therefore enacted...that all books called antiphoners, missals, scrails, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuises, primers in Latin or English, couchers, journals, ordinals, or other books or writings whatsoever heretofore used for the service of the church, written or printed in the English or Latin tongue...shall be by authority of this present act clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished and forbidden for ever to be used or kept in this realm or elsewhere within any the king's dominions. [7]

The reason for actual destruction is explained in the preamble to this enactment. The old service-books contained

> ...things corrupt, untrue, vain, and superstitious, and as it were a preparation to superstition, which for that they be not called in but permitted to remain undefaced, do not only give occasion to such perverse persons as do impugn the order and godly meaning of the king's said Book of Common Prayer to continue in their old accustomed superstitious service, but also minister great occasion to diversity of opinions, rites, ceremonies and services. [8]

It is also possible that when Sarum was imposed in 1542 on the southern province, accompanied by penalties for anyone continuing to use other rites, as seen above (p. 106), some destruction of other books took place then. This might partly account for the fact that while a reasonable number of MS Sarum Missals and Breviaries have come down to us, only two MS Breviaries survive of, for example, the Hereford rite.

However, in considering the relative strength of the rites as reflected in the manuscripts, we must also take into account another factor, which is to do with modern scholarship: manuscripts of other rites may exist, but may simply not have been investigated. Even where they have been deposited in a library, they may not have been recognised for what they are, and been wrongly catalogued in consequence. Moreover, a number of them may be located on the Continent, having travelled there in the pockets of the exiled Recusants. This would reflect the situation of the MS Sarum Missals: in the list in Appendix III, Table 1 (pp. 317-318), four, taken from the povisional list drawn up by Wickham Legg, are located in foreign libraries. Indeed, his own edition of the three earliest manuscripts include two from abroad: one in the Paris Arsenal library and one in the University Library of Bologna.[9] It is possible that a study of the manuscripts located abroad would modify our picture of how much has survived from each rite.

On the other hand, even the manuscripts located in England have not yet been closely studied. This is partly because the detailed reading of liturgical manuscripts is, as one of the most careful liturgiologists called it, "a nightmare".[10] Unless they are large-format volumes with music, designed to be read by a group of cantors simultaneously, most medieval liturgical books aim to get an enormous amount of information into as compact a space as possible. The writing is therefore often small and cramped, abbreviations are used as much as possible, and, most troublesome of all, each service, day and season follows on from the other without a break. A couple of pages of rubrics, written throughout, as the name implies, in red ink, can be almost impossible to read. In short, these books were designed for people who, from lifelong use, already knew their contents more or less by heart. In consequence, when modern scholars, who do not know the contents, approach such manuscripts, each devises his or her own proof-texts for establishing quickly which rite the manuscript seems to belong to. For example, Wickham Legg pays particular attention to the prayers, and takes the Secret of the Second Sunday after Epiphany as a rough and ready way of establishing whether a manuscript is of Sarum use.[11] William Maskell points out the distinctiveness of the prayer "Agimus tibi Deo Patri gratias" found in the Canon of only the Hereford and Westminster missals, and uses its presence in BL MS Harley 2787 to dispute this manuscript's possible Sarum classification.[12] C. A. Gordon looks at the order of Alleluia-verses in the masses of Sundays after Trinity as a way of

establishing manuscript family-groups.'[13] It is hoped that the comparative lectionary provided in Appendix II of this thesis will provide a similarly ready method of detecting the rite of a manuscript. It may even have the additional benefit that, not resting on a single prayer or minor feature, it will provide a more solid test, which covers a good deal of the manuscript's content. However, it should also not be too time-consuming to use, as the reader does not, in fact, have to decipher every single lesson: checking the opening words of a broad sample of the readings will suffice.

However, all these methods have their limitations, given that certain manuscripts, on close inspection, turn out to be hybrids. An example is BL Lansdowne 432, a fourteenth-century manuscript catalogued by the British Library as Sarum, which, on the basis of the prayers, one would perhaps assign to York or Hereford: the Secrets consistently agree with those of York, Hereford and Rome against those of Sarum. However, the lectionary and the ceremonies, such as those of Ash Wednesday and Good Friday described above, consistently agree with Sarum. We note, then, either that a hybrid rite existed, or that the Sarum rite was not as standardized as we might think. Another area of variation can be found in the matter of psalm-verses attached to the Offertory chant in the Mass. In Dickinson's edition of the 1526 Sarum Missal, Sarum differs fom the other rites in having two psalm-verses at the Offertory, where all the other rites have none: the Offertory chant consists of an antiphon only. Wickham

Legg's edition of the thirteenth-century manuscripts, however, does not have these psalm-verses, which suggests that they were added to the Sarum rite at a later date. If we turn to the manuscripts, we find that BL Lansdowne 432, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, does not have these verses, while BL Add. 11414, another "Sarum" manuscript dating from the second half, does; so does Bodley MS Laud Misc. 164, dating from the fifteenth century. This variation may point to chronological development within the Sarum rite, or it may be due to other factors. The second manuscript, BL Add. 11414, appears to be of uncertain provenance: the British Library catalogues it as "Roman", while Legg describes it as being of mixed Sarum and Lincoln character.[14] Its prayers, lectionary and ceremonies agree with Sarum, except for the occasional detail: for example, on Monday of Lent I, this manuscript has an Offertory verse ("Legem pone", psalm 118:33 / A.V. 119:33) where even the Dickinson edition does not.

To begin looking at the manuscripts is thus immediately to enter a world of untidy variations. We have to abandon our modern expectations of standardized liturgical texts, expectations which spring from a gradual historical development in the western Church. As we have seen, the Book of Common Prayer was imposed by a fairly ferocious Act of Uniformity. Similarly, in the Roman Catholic Church, one form of the Mass was imposed by the Council of Trent, overriding all local uses, although leaving untouched the rites of the major monastic and

religious Orders.[15] In our own century, the Second Vatican Council has imposed a revised form of the Mass, not only on the dioceses, but this time on the monastic and religious Orders as well. As a result, we are used to considering one set of liturgical books as authoritative. Even when we accept the idea of local uses or rites, we expect the books within each rite to be consistent. In coming to terms with medieval variety, therefore, we should bear in mind that some of it may be simply haphazard, although it is hoped that much of it can be explained in terms of chronological development, or in terms of geographical distribution. We will now look more carefully at the evidence for geographical distribution.

Within a manuscript, the Calendar, daily memorials and Sanctorale, particularly in their treatment of patronal saints, can furnish clues as to the locality or community that a liturgical book is designed for. This applies not just to dioceses, but also to religious Orders: a Franciscan Missal can be distinguished from the virtually identical Roman Missal by its special treatment of Franciscan saints. The Calendar may also provide details of the ownership of the book, by recording the "obits" of the family or clerics to whom it belonged, or the date when it was given to a particular church or institution. This material is used extensively by libraries for cataloguing, and a book's "provenance" is often deduced from its last owner or place of use. This does not necessarily tell us which place the book was written *for*. For example, BL MS Harley 2787 is catalogued as

belonging to St. Paul's, London. Since, as we shall see, St. Paul's had its own rite until 1414, and since the manuscript is dated to c. 1400, this at first looks very exciting. However, it appears that it came into the posession of St. Paul's sometime after the cathedral had changed to the Sarum rite, and the manuscript does in fact conform to Sarum, except for the prayer noted by William Maskell above.

The fact that many manuscripts have later corrections and modifications shows that they were in fact frequently adapted, either as fashions changed chronologically, or as they migrated across local-rite boundaries. The daily memorials can be helpful here, since the patron saint of the diocese will figure prominently: thus Osmund was commemorated at Salisbury, but Chad at Lichfield. One of the indications of the spread of the Sarum rite into other dioceses lies in the provision increasingly made in Sarum manuscripts and printed editions for the commemoration of other patron saints. Thus in fifteenth-century Sarum manuscripts, we find "Festa Synodalia" relating to Chad of Lichfield, Etheldreda of Ely, and several saints connected with Norwich. Indeed, so many of the surviving Sarum manuscripts come from the Ely and Norwich dioceses, that it is safe to say that this was an area of firmly Sarum rite throughout most of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[16] If we scrutinize the Calendars, however, we find that the Festa Synodalia of Ely and Norwich begin to be added to the Sarum Missals around 1416, suggesting that during the fourteenth century different books

were used. One must, of course, allow for a transitional period when the Sarum books were used, but not to the extent that it was worth actually commissioning books with the local Festa Synodalia already written in.

To attempt to pinpoint the moment at which a diocese adopted a particular rite, we have to abandon the manuscripts themselves and turn to external evidence.

c. External evidence.

Possible sources of external evidence fall into a number of categories. The first category consists of statutes governing a whole province of the Church, such as Canterbury or York, enacted by the archbishop in council with his bishops; also of interest are the archbishop's interventions in smaller, local problems within his province. These will all be found in records of Church councils. For the British Isles, these have been gathered together in three successive collections: first in Sir Henry Spelman's *Concilia* in the seventeenth century; then, in the eighteenth century, in David Wilkins' *Concilia*, which corrected Spelman's material and added to it from other manuscripts; and, more recently, in Haddan and Stubbs *Church Councils*, which reordered the material in Wilkins and substantially corrected its information concerning the earliest centuries in the British

Churches. This last collection is particularly useful for Wales, Scotland and Ireland.[17]

A related body of material comes from the regulations made by a bishop for his own diocese, which will be found in the Registers of individual bishops. These usually contain rather humdrum rulings on disputes over land, permissions for exchanges of benefices, records of ordinations, and similar adminstrative matters, but they can also include the Constitutions that an incoming bishop will issue for his whole see, on taking over from his predecessor, and these can include liturgical matters. Several of these registers have been published, rather randomly, by learned societies. Of these, the most important is the Canterbury and York Society, which has covered the dioceses Canterbury and Hereford (for some reason) fairly extensively,[18] and produced at least one or two registers for most of the other dioceses of the southern Church province.[19] The Surtees Society is the main source of information on the northern province,[20] while more local Record societies have produced material for individual dioceses.[21] Bishop's Registers as such do not exist before the thirteenth century, but earlier material is being published in the series *English Episcopal Acta*.[22]

The evidence furnished by the Councils and Registers can be backed up, selectively but more discursively, from the Chronicles of the period. In the fourteenth century Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* is a useful source, as is Matthew Paris in the

thirteenth, and in the twelfth a host of writers, such as William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum*, give us valuable information about the reorganization of the dioceses after the Norman Conquest. These Latin chronicles can nearly all be found in the Rolls Series.[23]

To try to discover what went on in the parishes, we can turn, apart from the bishops' Registers, to the records of the bishops' visitations. These usually include an inventory of the parish church furnishings, including its liturgical books. Thus, in a visitation of the London diocese in the fifteenth century, we find in parish after parish two or three Sarum Missals, and, still preserved, one or two books of the "old Use of St. Paul's", the London rite displaced by Sarum.[24] Unfortunately, visitations tend to be sporadic, ending up few and far between. Another source of information, potentially rich though confusing, lies in the wills left by both clerics and laymen: books, being valuable objects, are bequeathed carefully. However, while a cleric might occasionally specify the rite of a liturgical book, a layman, even an obviously devout one, usually differentiated between books on different grounds: a will of 1410 lists "a red missal worth ten pounds, another covered with black silk, worth twelve marks, a new psalter worth five marks, one gradual...", none of which is very helpful.[25] The difficulty with all these sources is that what snippets of liturgical information they contain are widely scattered and easy to miss. Nonetheless, those seeking this information need to know at least where to begin looking.

The evidence as it stands at present is set out by Archdale King in *Liturgies of the Past.*[26] He brings together all the odd bits of information that have so far been gleaned from the kind of sources listed above. If his work is not better known among English scholars, it is partly because he enjoys a reputation for unreliability: "marred by an uncritical handling of sources and an inaccuracy of presentation", says Pfaff in the *Bibliography of Medieval Latin Liturgy.*[27] This is justified in view of the fact that while some of his assertions are very carefully supported wih evidence, others are completely unsupported. An example is his opinion that the rite of Lincoln was used only within the Cathedral church, and not within the diocese as a whole.[28] Nonetheless, he provides "valuable information",[29] and to add to the evidence mustered by King would require systematic study of the historical sources listed above, a task perhaps better done by medieval historians, who know ~~how~~ what questions to ask of this kind of material, than by English literature scholars.

Before we summarize the extant information about the different rites, let us look at the tradition which gives Sarum a dominant role even before the sixteenth century. The evidence for the importance of this rite rests on three references in Procter and Wordsworth's edition of the Breviary, repeated by most scholars when giving reasons for their choice of Sarum. These are: Ranulph Higden's reference in the *Polychronicon* to the fact that nearly the whole of Britain, Wales and Ireland uses St. Osmund of Salisbury's "Ordinal"; a statement in the 1456

canonization process of St. Osmund, quoting Higden's remark; and the fact that, as early as 1258 , the diocese of Glasgow wished to adopt the rite.[30]

However, when we look carefully at the wording of these references, we find that they seem to refer specifically to the Consuetudinary of Sarum, of which the core was the "Institutio" of St. Osmund. Higden's wording is:

> Hic quoque composuit librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii quem Consuetudinarium vocavit, quo fere nunc tota Anglia, Wallia utitur et Hibernia." [31]

This is where the confusion between an "Ordinal", meaning summary list of which liturgical texts are to be said on which days, and "Ordinal", meaning "Consuetudinary", comes into play. As we have seen, a Consuetudinary orders the ceremonial of the Mass and Office rather than the choice of texts;[32] and the Institutio of St. Osmund turns out to govern neither of these, but rather the organization and discipline of cathedral and collegiate clergy.[33] When one considers that Osmund formed part of the first wave of reforming Norman bishops appointed after the Conquest, whose task was to re-shape the more fluid Anglo-Saxon structures, one can see why a clear, workable hierarchy of office-holders with well-defined responsibilities would have wide appeal. Further, a Norman bishop wrestling with the even more alien diocesan and monastic structures of the Celtic areas would be all the more eager to borrow the Institutio -- thus the enquiry from Glasgow. King supports this more legislative view of St. Osmund's

importance: "The numerous references to St. Osmund in documents of the thirteenth century always allude to constitutional questions, never to liturgical." Unfortunately, he gives only one supporting reference.[34] St. Osmund's personal importance has been further reduced by the general agreement among scholars that, in any case, the famous "Institutio" is the work not of the saint himself, but of Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury in the thirteenth century.[35] It was this ambitious cleric who put Osmund forward for canonization, but even so, it was not until 1456 that this recognition was granted.

The implication of the historical material (as we have it at present) is that Sarum gradually asserted its pre-eminence during the course of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. An important stage in this process must have been the adoption of the rite by St. Paul's, the cathedral church of England's capital. The relevant statute is given in the Register of Bishop Clifford, but since this is not published, we have to depend on the English version of it given by Dugdale:

> And in Anno MCCCCXIV (2 H. V) Oct XV, Richard Clifford, then Bishop of London, by the consent of the Dean and Chapter, ordained that from the first Day of December following, beginning then at Vespers, the solemn Celebration of Divine Service therein, which before that Time had been, according to a peculiar Form, anciently used, and called Usus Sancti Pauli, should thenceforth be conformable to that of the Church of Salisbury, for all Canonical Hours, both Night and Day. [36]

This is backed up by an assertion in Clement Maydestone's *Defensorium Defectorii* (1488):

> [The canons] totum officium divinum in cantando et legendo observant secundum Sarum ecclesiae. sed de caerimoniis vel observantionibus ejusdem nihil curantes: sed custodiunt antiquas observantias in ecclesia sancti Pauli a primordio illic usitatas. [37]

The value of this statement is that it indicates that the *texts* of Sarum are involved, since reading and singing are emphasized, and specifically *not* ritual. This is not nearly so clear in a statute of Bishop William Heyworth concerning his diocese of Lichfield:

> Insuper statuimus et ordinamus, quod in singulis horis diei dicendis, necnon in antiphonis, ad matutinas et vesperas in festis duplicibus inchoandis, ac psalmis intonandis de caetero servetur formae ordinalis Sarum. [38]

This statute strongly suggests that, in this case, a matter of ritual, not texts, is concerned: it confines itself to "double", i.e. major feasts,[39] and specifically concerns precenting and intoning psalms and antiphons, for which an elaborate series of ceremonial movements, involving the "rulers" of the choir and the cantors, was prescribed in the Sarum Consuetudinary.[40] However, in the sixteenth century Sarum was definitely imposed on Lichfield by Bishop Walter Blyth (1503-24).[41]

In our current state of knowledge, we cannot say what these dioceses used before they changed to Sarum. We will therefore now take stock of what has been established so far, and consider it in relation to Middle English authors; we will then discuss

how to proceed when there is no indication of the rite followed in a particular diocese.

4. Conclusions.

a. The secular rites in relation to Middle English literature.

If we look at the map of English medieval dioceses in Appendix III, Table 5 (p. 323), and work down from the north of the country, we can venture the following provisional conclusions.

There may have been Sarum influence on the two northernmost dioceses of Durham and Carlisle, coming from Scotland, which seems to have extensively adopted Sarum (both texts and ritual) during the course of the thirteenth century.[1] Durham had its own liturgical tradition at the time of the Norman Conquest, [2] which seems, however, to have been closely akin to York's. The enormous diocese of York itself, spreading in a broad swathe right across the country from the Yorkshire coast to that of Lancashire, probably contained within its bounds much of the Middle English literary activity of the North, notably that of the Mystery Cycles of York and Wakefield. The diocese also descended in the middle, in a broad loop reaching as far south as Nottingham. Thus its influence also extends into the Midland area, and might affect writers such as Walter Hilton, who was

connected with Nottingham. To the east of this loop lay another enormous diocese, that of Lincoln, which extended southwards in a long rectangle, taking in Oxford at its south-west corner. So little of the Lincoln rite survives, that perhaps King is right in asserting that it was used only in the cathedral church; on the other hand, he himself refers to a particularly virulent destruction of the old service books within this particular diocese.[3] There is the further problem of Oxford, in which at least some of the secular clerks seem to have followed Sarum;[4] but this is probably connected with the fact that the colleges were private foundations, which could make their own choice in liturgical matters. To the east of Lincoln, in East Anglia, we get the dioceses of Ely and Norwich, which seem to have adopted Sarum in the course of the fifteenth century. Since Ely was originally part of Lincoln, not being established as a separate diocese until 1109, perhaps the pre-Sarum rite in this area was akin to Lincoln's.

On the west side of the country, the diocese of Lichfield occupied the area between Wales and the Lincoln diocese. The map shows that, geographically, Lichfield had the other major rites on its borders: Bangor (probably also used in St. Asaph's) to the west, York to the north, Lincoln to the east, and Hereford (also used in Worcester) to the south. Before its adoption of Sarum, then, it could have been influenced by any or all of these rites. Lichfield is important, as a substantial number of Romances and alliterative works exist in the North-West Midlands dialect, and

much of the dialect area falls within the diocese, with perhaps its northernmost reaches falling in the diocese of York, which, as already stated, included Lancashire. South of Lichfield, we have the Hereford-Worcester liturgical block, covering Langland's area of origin. Further south still, Exeter had its own liturgy,[5] not unlike Sarum's, and Bath and Wells seems to have shown a certain independence from Sarum in the matter of ritual.[6] Otherwise, Sarum seems to have become dominant by the fourteenth century in the south of the country, from Wiltshire to Canterbury, with the exception, as we have seen, of London.

For Chaucer, Gower, and Langland, then, all living in London as adults, we do not have the most appropriate liturgical texts, as, unfortunately, only a few fragments of the old Use of St. Paul's survive.[7] If any of books of this Use survived the general destruction of service-books in 1549, they were probably lost in the Great Fire of 1666. All we can say about the London rite was that it differed sufficiently from that of Sarum for the changeover to the latter to be fixed by statute to a precise moment of a precise day, as seen above. While Sarum remains a useful guide to what they may have been familiar with, we cannot quote it as the ultimate authority.

For Langland in particular, we need anyway to bring in the liturgical texts he would have grown up with, and which would therefore probably most permeate his thinking. Here, we are fortunate in having the Missal and Breviary of the Hereford rite,

the one appropriate to the Malvern area. Langland studies should probably, therefore, draw on this rite rather than Sarum. The alternative, if we accept that Langland was educated at some kind of monastery school, is to look for influence in his work from the Benedictine Office; Mass would be less affected, as, in theory at least, the Benedictine houses followed the Eucharistic rite of the local diocese.

For the *Gawain*-poet, we have no concrete information to go on. On the basis of the dialect of the manuscript, he has been situated in an area comprising south Lancashire, north Staffordshire and west Derbishire.[8] This area would have fallen largely within the diocese of Lichfield, which, as we have seen, could have been influenced by nearly all the other rites. In trying to reconstruct what liturgical texts may have influenced him, I think we are justified in considering all the possible rites which may have been available to the poet, and therefore consider material from the Hereford and York rites, as well as the Sarum. In addition, we may also take into account, as with Langland, a possible monastic influence: the *Gawain*-poet may have received his education in a monastery school, been in some way associated with a monastic centre in adult life, or even at some stage entered a monastery. In Part II of this thesis, which concerns two works associated with this poet, we will proceed by looking at liturgical material from all the above rites.

Finally, in connection with other bodies of literature, there is not only the Benedictine rite to be taken into account but that of other Orders as well, particularly the Franciscan, which was distinctive.[9]

b. The contribution of the monastic and Franciscan rites.

As already pointed out, a text from the monastic, as opposed to the secular Office, finds its way into the Chester play of the Ascension.[10] Although the traditions connecting the composition of the Chester plays to specific Benedictine monks of Chester have been shown to be confused,[11] no one has yet disputed a general link between between the Plays and St. Werburgh's, Chester's Benedictine Abbey. A monastic origin for the Plays might not be too surprising, if we bear in mind that the only named religious playwright of the early Middle Ages, Hrotswitha of Gandersheim (b. 935), was a nun.[12] It is very striking that, whereas the Ascension play in the other three extant Cycles stresses the poignancy of the disciples' last encounter with Jesus, and their commissioning as apostles,[13] the Chester play is built round the canticle "Quis est iste qui venit de Edom", which accompanies Jesus's actual movement of Ascension into heaven.[14] As we saw when discussing the Divine Office, canticles feature in the third Nocturn of monastic Matins, and this particular canticle is one of the three appointed to be said throughout Eastertide, and, consequently, on Ascension Day.[15] In the

cathedral or secular Office, however, canticles are only said at Lauds, where they correspond to the Lauds canticles of the monastic rite; Matins canticles represent an extra body of material peculiar to the monastic Office.

In connection with the other Mystery Cycles, it may be useful to look at the Franciscan rite, which, we remember, was identical with that of Rome. In the Introduction, we saw that in his study of the Corpus Christi plays, R. T. Davies raises the question of what principle, if any, appears to be governing the selection of the Mystery Cycles' Old Testament plays. He discusses the liturgical parallel put forward by E. M. Clark and others, suggesting that the Old Testament plays could correspond to readings in the office of Matins for the seventy days of Septuagesima. However, this theory proves not to be very satisfactory.[16]

A liturgical parallel could, on the other hand, be found in the Franciscan-rite readings for the Easter Vigil, which was, we remember, the heart of the liturgical cycle and the most solemn service of the whole year. In the Franciscan scheme, which was identical to the Roman, there are twelve Old Testament readings at this service, as we saw when discussing the lectionary of the different rites. These readings consist of six narratives, interrupted by a block of four passages from the prophets:

1. Creation (Gen.1-2:2).
2. Noah (Gen.5:31-8:21, with omissions).
3. The sacrifice of Isaac (Gen.22: 1-19).
4. The crossing of the Red Sea (Exod.14:24-15:1).
5. Isaiah 54:17-55:11.
6. Baruch 3:9-38.
7. Ezech.37:1-14.
8. Isaiah 4:1-6).
9. The first Passover (Exod.12:1-11).
10. Jonah (3:1-10).
11. Moses and the Law (Deut.31:22-30).
12. The three children in the furnace (Daniel 3:1-24).

It is worth comparing this list with that of the plays which Kolve terms "the irreducible core" of any of the Mystery Cycles.[17] The following Old Testament plays occur in either all or at least four of his five main sources, the extant Cycles plus the list of the lost plays at Beverley:

The fall of Lucifer.
The creation and fall of man.
Cain and Abel.
Noah.
Abraham and Isaac.
Moses and the crossing of the Red Sea,
and/or Moses and the Laws.
The Prophets.

The correspondence is not exact, but includes sufficient common material to be worth investigating; it is at least as promising as the parallel with the Septuagesima-tide readings or with other parallels put forward in scholarly studies, such as Kolve's own proposal of the Seven Ages of man.[18]

However, the Sarum rite, on which Kolve and others explicitely state they have been drawing,[19] has only four O. T.

readings at the Easter Vigil, as we have seen: Creation, the crossing of the Red Sea, one of the readings from the Prophets (Isaiah 4:1-6), and Moses and the Law. This represents an amazing difference between the two rites, and also accounts for the fact that any possible parallel with the Vigil readings has escaped scholarly attention.

The origins of the Mystery Plays are a complete enigma. Two traditions, however, link their composition to members of monastic or religious Orders, rather than to secular clergy: at Chester, as already mentioned, tradition ascribes the plays to two monks of St. Werburgh's, Ranulph Higden and Henry Francis, while a tradition in Coventry suggests that the plays were acted by the Grey Friars.[20] Both these traditions point us away from taking only the cathedral rite of the diocese into account, and the second points us to the mendicant (as opposed to monastic) Orders.

Some form of clerical involvement in the writing of all four extant Cycles seems necessary in view of their extraordinary theological poise. Even when their approach may strike us as daring, as in some of the plays of the Wakefield Master and the Marian plays of the Ludus Coventriae, they show orthodoxy combined with subtlety and sophistication. One of the difficulties in postulating the close involvement of the monastic or secular clergy with the Plays is the Church's ambivalent attitude towards performers, whose craft involved much indecent

behaviour on stage and, perhaps, off stage as well.[21] Consequently, it appears that the clergy were often forbidden to perform or to be involved in non-liturgical drama, and even the latter had frequently to be suppressed because of the rowdy behaviour it occasioned in church.[22] In contrast, St. Francis had specifically exhorted his followers to be minstrels and jugglers -- *joculatores* -- of the Lord, using songs and a minstrel style of presentation to win their audience's attention.[23] One result of this was the spectacular growth of vernacular religious lyrics, particularly in Italy and in England. The Franciscans are thus already linked with the development of one body of medieval English literature,[24] and the similarity of some of the poetry found in the Plays and the lyrics has struck many readers. Some of the speeches of Christ from the Cross, for example, sound very much like any of the large number of Passion lyrics that have this form.[25]

In the Franciscans, then, we have a "freelance" body of clergy, not hampered by their colleagues' suspicions of the performing arts, with a special catechetical mission to the illiterate, combined with a tradition, through their houses in the Universities, of the highest theological scholarship. But why should they find inspiration for their teaching mission in the readings of the Easter Vigil?

All liturgy, particularly in its ritual aspects, has a dramatic quality to it which has been commented on at length by

virtually all scholars in the fields of both liturgical and "secular" religious drama.[26] Undoubtedly the most "dramatic" service in the whole year was the Easter Vigil, comprising as it did a whole series of symbolic actions, interspersed with readings and chants of particular beauty and importance. As we have seen, it included the lighting of the new fire and the blessing of the Paschal candle, which involved the singing of the long and ancient hymn of the Exsultet; a series of readings designed to convey the whole history of God's redeeming activity; the procession to the font singing the Litany of the Saints, the blessing of the water and asperging of the people; and it concluded with the first Mass of Easter, during which the bells were rung. The readings thus took place in a context highly suggestive of drama. In the Franciscan rite they unfolded to the listeners a sequence of tense, exciting narratives demonstating saving acts of God through history, beginning with the Creation, and accompanied by readings from the prophets which served to bring out some of their underlying themes. Moreover, the readings were themselves given a slightly dramatic slant: each reading was followed by a sung "tract" and a prayer; but two of the readings lead directly into an accompanying canticle, in which the choir represent the characters in that particular episode. These are Reading 3, the crossing of the Red Sea, followed by the "Song of Miriam" as she led the children of Israel in a triumphant dance, and Reading 11, Moses' last words to the children of Israel, followed by the "Song of Moses".[27]

Through the rites of the Religious Orders, then, and particularly of the Franciscans, the writers of the English Mystery Plays may have been influenced by liturgical material whose availability has not so far been taken into account. We must not forget that in medieval England, the cathedrals were not the only centres of intense liturgical activity; the great Abbeys were as well, and the convents of the Friars would have been great devotional centres.

Consequently, in bringing the liturgy to bear on Middle English literature, we have two ranges of material to keep in mind. In the first case, we have to be aware of the full scope of the liturgy, as was discussed in Chapter I: not only the Mass and Office, but various sacramental offshoots from the Mass, and devotional additions to the Office, might have a part to play in shedding light on any given vernacular work. Secondly, as examined in this Chapter, there is the need to remember that several rites, containing different sets of Scriptural readings, existed within England, and these involve not only the local secular rites, but also the rites of the monastic and religious Orders. It seems sensible, therefore, to cast a fairly wide net when considering liturgical influence. The next part of this thesis will demonstrate how this can be done in relation to specific works.

PART II.

TWO APPLICATIONS:

PEARL AND *CLEANNESS*.

CHAPTER III. *PEARL* AND THE COMMON OF VIRGINS.

1. The Presentation of the Pearl-Maiden.

The symbol of the pearl operates in this poem, critics agree, on many levels. For instance, Pearl is, on one level, the maiden who appears to the narrator in his dream-vision, and identifies herself as the one "nerre than aunte or nece" (l.233) whose loss has caused him so much grief. On another, the pearl is the "pearl of great price" of the Gospel: the kingdom of heaven (l.735) and the gift of eternal life, which, in Biblical terms, is the thing most precious to each individual. This gift the Pearl-maiden already possesses, and she can therefore help the dreamer to see how he too may attain it. On a third level, the eternal life and joy of the kingdom of heaven is embodied in Christ, who is, as a person, himself the "pearl of great price" sought by each believer. In addition, there are many other aspects of this symbol within the poem; for example, there is an ongoing debate as to what reference, if any, the pearl has to the round white "host" or wafer of Eucharistic bread.[1]

Liturgical parallels and possible sources have been brought to bear on all these many aspects of the pearl-image. In particular, critics have used this material in an attempt to chart the numerous shifts in the poet's notably fluid handling of the image, for it is not only many-layered, but constantly changing. This fluidity particularly affects our understanding

of the nature and role of the Pearl-maiden. Is she, for example, a purely allegorical figure, representing some lost innocence of the poet's? If she is truly a child who died before the age of two, does her role as instructress need explaining? Does the high position assigned her in heaven raise any theological problems? [2]

In discussing these questions, it might be helpful to consider what idea or source might have suggested the pearl-image to the poet in the first place. What prompted him to represent his daughter as a pearl? Of course, it is not uncommon for a loved person, particularly if female, to be both addressed and referred to in terms of jewels and treasure, and the virtuous woman of the Book of Proverbs, whose "price is far above rubies" (Prov. 31:10), may have lent Biblical support to this kind of association. It is also possible, as some editors of the poem have suggested, that the child was named Margaret or Margery, from the Latin *margarita*, i.e. "Pearl".[3] However, even if the child's name did indeed provide a starting-point, it cannot in itself account for the poem's complex presentation of the Pearl-maiden. Within a poem of the richness of *Pearl*, it will be useful to review all the material that belongs to this particular aspect, taking the detailed physical description of the maiden as a central thread.

The maiden first appears at l.161, and is introduced in a long passage lasting six and a half stanzas. The first element to be emphasised is her shining whiteness:

At the fote þerof þer sete a faunt,
A mayden of menske, ful debonere;
Blysnande whyt watȝ hyr bleaunt. (ll.161-63.)

The poet then speaks of his growing sense of recognition, as he looks at her "fygure fyn" (l.170) and her "vysage whyt as playn yvore" (l.178). It is only after a description of his conflicting emotions that he introduces the next two elements, that of her royal appearance and her being decked in pearls: she

Rysez up in hir araye ryalle,
A precios pyece in perleȝ pyȝt. (ll.191-92.)

In the next stanza, her crown is introduced, an aspect of her appearance which will be important later in sparking off the debate between her and the dreamer.

A pyȝt coroyne ȝet wer þat gyrle
Of maiorys and non oþer ston,
Hiȝe pynakled of cler quyt perle,
Wyth flurted flowreȝ perfect upon. (ll.205-208.)

Her solemn bearing, "Her semblaunt sad for doc oþer erle", is also emphasized, which prepares us for her grave discourse later. The description climaxes in the one perfect pearl set in her breast:

Bot a wonder perle wythouten wemme
Inmyddeȝ hyr breste watȝ sette so sure;
A manneȝ dom moȝt dryȝly demme,

Er mynde moȝt malte in hit mesure. (11.221-24.)

In this culminating stanza of the maiden's first appearance, the lines "A mannez dom...mesure" (11.223-24) already suggest the "pearl of great price" of the Gospels, for which "a man sold all that he had", an allusion that will be made explicit later in the main debate of the poem (cf. 11.729-39).

The poem now moves on to the conversation between the maid and the dreamer. It is initiated when she greets him, bowing low, and taking off "her coroun of grete tresore" (l. 237). He begins by speaking of his grief for her and his resentment of the fate ("wyrde") that has separated them. She then "set on her coroun of perle orient", rather as though putting on some kind of insignia of office, and begins to put forward a different view, asserting instead her bliss and the place of honour that she holds in heaven:

> þou wost wel when þy perle con schede
> I watȝ ful ȝong and tender of age;
> But my Lorde the Lombe þurȝ hys godhede
> He toke muself to hys maryage
> Corounde me quene in blysse to brede
> In lenghe of dayeȝ þat ever schal wage. (11.410-16)

Her assertion that she is "corounde quene" sets off the debate between them. Overlooking the happy overtones of "maryage", the dreamer concentrates on objecting to her queenly status: Mary is the queen of heaven, and "þe croune fro hyr quo moȝt remwe" (l.427), unless she somehow surpassed her? The maiden 's

explanation -- that Mary holds "þe empyre" (l.456) over everyone in heaven, and that in any case everyone is king or queen of "alle þe reme" while "never oþer ȝet schal depryve" (ll.448-9) -- is somewhat lost on the dreamer at this stage. He feels "þat cortaysé is to fre of dede" (l.481) that would reward a tiny child with the same generosity as someone who has served God in a long life of work and penance. With this the focus of the poem moves from the physical encounter of the maiden and dreamer to the subject matter of the debate. This debate is hardly an equal one: in it the maiden has the role of instructress, the dreamer that of rather truculent questioner, and, in the process, our sense of the protagonists as father and infant daughter is obscured.

We do not return to a visual depiction of the maiden until the debate has returned to the topic of her own status in heaven. Once again she repeats the idea of marriage. The Lamb, she says,

> Me ches to hys make, alþaȝ unmete
> Sumtyme semed þat assemblé.
> When I wente fro yor worlde wete,
> He calde me to hys bonerté:
> "Cum hyder to me, my lemman swete
> For mote ne spot is non in þe." (ll.757-62.)

This stanza ends with another reference to her crown:

> And coronde clene in vergynté,
> And pyȝt me in perleȝ maskelleȝ. (ll.767-68.)

This stanza brings together several apparently unrelated elements. It begins with the idea of the marriage of the Lamb, an idea taken from the Book of Revation (Rev. 19:7-9), and then bolsters it with lines from the Song of Songs: "Cum hyder to me...is non in þe." (cf. Cant. 4:7). It ends by relating the maiden's crown, hitherto the image of her bridal and royal status, to virginity, an association repeated later in the description of the lamb's procession, which was made up of "such vergyneȝ in þe same gyse/ þat watȝ my blisful an-under crown" (ll.1099-1100).

The vision ends with repeated references to the procession of the 144,000 who follow the Lamb, and to the maiden's place within it. There is nothing to strike us as odd about this, until we realize that in the Bible the reference is to *male* virgins, those "who have not defiled themselves with women" (Rev. 14:4). It is not a great step from this to imagine the procession as including all the undefiled, both male and female. As the maiden herself explains, with regard to the bridal imagery: " Forþy uche saule þat hade never teche/ Is to that Lombe a worthyly wyf" (ll.845-6). However, the poem gives an undeniable impression of a procession of women, since all the "Lambeȝ vyueȝ" (l.785) are, like the maiden herself, decked in a crown, pearls and white robes (ll. 1100-1104), and, further, we must not forget the wedding overtones of the procession: "Arayed to þe weddyng in þat hyl-coppe" (l.791). Where does this transformation of a triumphal procession of men, escorting the

Lamb to his throne, into a bridal procession of women, all decked in pearls, come from? I suggest that the liturgy, in the Common Mass and Office of Virgins, provides a key. In particular, it provides the central image of the pearl of great price, and associates it with the theme of wisdom and with the imagery of a bridal procession. To the liturgy, therefore, we shall now turn.

2. The Liturgical Material.

Owing to the large number of saints celebrated in the liturgy, the Common Offices, whether of Virgins, Martyrs, Confessors or any other category, recurred many times during the course of the year. In particular, the Common of Virgins (including Virgin Martyrs) would have been heard between twenty and twenty-five times a year, depending on the local Calendar.[4] The material that follows would, therefore, have probably been highly familiar to a medieval audience.

The Common Offices for women saints form a cluster, of which the Office of a Virgin Martyr forms the base text. The other Offices -- of a Virgin unmartyred, of several virgins, and of holy women -- are not generally complete in themselves, but consist of a few variations on the material for a Virgin Martyr. This is probably because martyrs were considered to form the top category of sainthood after the Apostles, ranking before doctors

and confessors. As a result, the martyrs to a certain extent define the nature of sainthood: any saint is expected to show the kind of character which could stand up in the face of persecution. In addition, where women are concerned, virginity also has a kind of defining quality, so that any woman who shows a radical commitment to God can be, so to speak, re-defined as a virgin. The most influential example of this process is that of the two early martyrs Perpetua and Felicitas: the contemporary written account of their death is the earliest to have been preserved in the Church, and it set the pattern for the hagiography of women.[5] These two young women were emphatically not virgins, each having been delivered of a child not long before her death, and yet they are often so described in the Calendars.[6] Within English literature, an example of the same process seems to occur in the Old English poem *Judith*, where the heroine, a widow, is repeatedly referred to as a "mægþ".[7] All women saints, then, are to some extent considered through the lens of the Virgin Martyr ideal.

The Virgin Martyr Office itself is interesting for offering a wider choice of readings and chants than is found in the other Common Offices, such as those for Apostles, male Martyrs, or Confessors. This wide choice of texts, however, is actually taken from only a few, highly distinctive, blocks of Scriptural material, some of which is also used for the Office of Our Lady. Much of this material comes from the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament, particularly from the Song of Songs, which gives a

poetic, mysterious and exotic flavour to the Common Offices of women, not shared by the Offices of men.

Bearing in mind that the exact rite used by the *Pearl*-poet cannot be pinpointed, it will be useful to look widely at the liturgical texts which were possibly available to him. We will therefore consider the Common of Virgins, both Martyrs and unmartyred, in all the English secular rites (Sarum, York and Hereford), and include the Breviary of Hyde Abbey and the Westminster Missal as representatives of the monastic tradition.

In all the rites, the "pearl of great price" forms the Gospel-reading for the Mass of a Virgin Martyr; in the York and Westminster rites, it is also used for unmartyred virgins.[8] This is perhaps not the most obvious choice, since the focus of the parable is on a man, the merchant, who sells all that he has in order to buy the pearl. Is the liturgy asking us to identify the merchant with the female saint, who spurns all that the world has to offer, including life itself, to be with Christ? Or is the saint rather to be identified with the pearl, the object of Christ's diligent search and "buying" through his death on the cross? In either case, the relevance of the parable is ambiguous. One might consider a more obvious choice of parable to be that of the wise and foolish virgins. This does indeed furnish the Gospel-reading for an unmartyred Virgin in the Sarum and Hereford rites, and, even within the Virgin Martyr's Office, it supplies some of the antiphons, responds and versicles. In

fact, material from the parables is juxtaposed so that the imagery of each blends with the other, as in the following Matins Respond:

> R. Haec est virgo sapiens: quam dominus vigilantem invenit: quae accepta lampade sumpsit secum oleum. Et veniente domino introivit cum eo ad nuptias.
> V. Inventa bona margarita dedit omnia sua et comparavit eam.
> R. Et veniente domino introivit cum eo ad nuptias. [9]

Here the finding of the pearl is set within the context of the wise virgin's entry into the wedding feast, and illustrates the way in which this second Gospel adds to all the Commons of women saints the theme of wisdom, allied to nuptial imagery.

The wisdom theme comes out chiefly in the choice of Epistle-readings. Naturally, martyrdom gets its own emphasis, as is seen in the fact that all the rites have two or more selections from the passage of Ecclesiasticus known as the "Oratio Iesu filii Sirach" (51:1-17), where the prophet celebrates his escape from his enemies. From this passage comes the phrase "Exaltasti super terram habitationem meam", which is repeated several times in the Office, and which stresses the idea of being elevated by God to a dwelling-place of honour and safety. However, the fact that a passage from Ecclesiasticus, chapter 24,[10] is also included in all three secular rites is more startling. This chapter is *the* description of wisdom in the eyes of Christian exegesis, the one in which the Church saw a description of Christ, the Wisdom of God through whom all things were made; for example, it furnishes the phrases for the first

great "O" antiphon of Advent, "O Sapientia, quae ex ore Altissimi prodiisti".[11] The passage used for the Epistle was made up of a selection of verses:

> Sapiencia laudabit animam suam, et in domino honorificabitur. Et in medio populi sui laudabitur. Et in ecclesiis altissimi aperiet os suum, et in conspectu virtutis illius gloriabitur. In medio populi exaltabitur, et in plenitudine sancta admirabitur. In multitudine electorum habebit laudem, et inter benedictos benedicetur dicens. Ego ex ore altissimi prodivi, primogenita ante omnem creaturam. Ego quasi libanus non incisus vaporavi habitacionem meam, et quasi balsam non mixtum odor meus. Et quasi therebintus extendi ramos meos, et rami mei honoris et gracie. (Ecclus. 24: vv.1-5, 21b, 22.)

As with the pearl of great price, it is not clear whether this passage is meant to refer to Christ in relation to the Virgin Martyr, expressing the wisdom she sought, attracted by the heady perfume "quasi balsam non mixtum" of the heavenly bridegroom; or whether the female saint is being identified with the female figure of wisdom, raised and honoured among the people, praised among the elect. A possible clue is offered by the York and Westminster rites. These include another reading, Wisdom 8:1-4, which emphasises the nuptial overtones of the search for wisdom:

> ...Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a iuventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius. Generositatem illius glorificat, conturbernium habens Dei; sed et omnium Dominus dilexit illam. Doctrix enim est disciplinae Dei, et electrix operum illius.

Here, since it is not only the meditator who wishes to marry wisdom but also God who loves her, the balance is perhaps tilted towards the identification of wisdom with the female saint, who thus becomes "doctrix disciplinae Dei", a phrase which

encapsulates the teaching function of the Pearl-maiden in the poem. The theme of being elevated to a place of honour, usually in order to speak, seems to be the central thread in all these readings, and is given an interesting twist in the York and Westminster rites. These add a passage from the New Testament, 2 Cor. 10:17-11:2, of which the key idea is, "Qui autem gloriatur, in Domino glorietur. Non enim qui seipsum commendat, ille probatus est: sed quem Deus commendat." [12] This is the main strand in the Pearl-maiden's explanation of her place in heaven: it is not a question of anyone "commending" themselves by works, but of Christ commending whom he will by grace. He chose Pearl "to hys make, alþaȝ vnmete/ Sumtyme semed þat assemblé" (1.759-60), and the Epistle echoes this marriage imagery by ending, "Despondi enim vos uni viro virginem castam exhibere Christo". The York rite gives prominence to this Epistle by using it as the Short Chapter at first and second Vespers, and at Terce.

The Sarum rite uses this last Epistle for ordinary Virgins, as well as the important passage from Wisdom, chapter 8. It also provides a third Epistle, with visually striking imagery:

> Gaudens gaudebo in Domino, et exsultabit anima mea in Deo meo, quia induit me vestimento salutis et indumento leticiae[13]circumdedit me, quasi sponsum decoratum corona, et quasi sponsam ornatam monilibus suis....Et gaudebit sponsus super sponsam, et gaudebit super te Deus tuus. (Isaiah 61:10,11, 62:5.)

Here we get the introduction of jewellery: although it is the bridegroom who is crowned, the bride is decked with "monilia",

gems. Furthermore, at Matins the Sarum rite transfers the crown to the bride, and introduces the image of pearls:

> R. Induit me Dominus vestimento salutis, et indumento leticiae circumdedit me. Et tanquam sponsam decoravit me corona.
> V. Tradidit auribus meis inaestimabiles margaritas et circundedit me vernantibus atque coruscantibus gemmis.[14]
> R. Et tanquam sponsam decoravit me corona. (Respond 5.)

This is a good example of the way the liturgy creatively adapts the text of Scripture, and thus makes a contribution of its own to the medieval development of Scriptural imagery; it is also an example of the sort of "inaccuracy" which irritated the Reformers and led to the demise of this kind of material. This particular Epistle, then, combines the idea of a crown, jewels and, in the Sarum rite, pearls, with emphasis on clothing -- the garment of salvation and the cloak of joy --, all elements which lead us into the special, jewelled garb of Pearl. It is not only this passage which contains the image of the crown: the Westminster rite has a passage from the book of Wisdom beginning "O quam pulchra est casta generacio cum claritate" (a phrase used repeatedly as a versicle in the Office of Our Lady as well as in the Common of Virgins), which goes on, "in perpetuum coronata triumphat".[15] As we shall see, this image is taken up elsewhere.

The theme of being decked for a wedding is picked up and emphasised throughout the Common Offices of women saints by the antiphons, responds and versicles. These draw extensively on two main texts, Psalm 44 (A.V.45) and the Song of Songs. Psalm 44 is

in origin a royal wedding hymn, detailing first the procession of the groom-king (vv.1-10), then the procession of the bride-queen (vv.11-20); Christian commentary saw in it the "carmen nuptiale regis Messiae", identifying the groom with Christ. The Common Offices take verses from both halves of the psalm, apparently applying all of them to the bride. The following verses, or parts of verses, are the most used.[16]

> 1. Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum: dico ego opera mea Regi.
> 3. Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis: propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum.
> 5. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua: intende, prospere procede, et regna.
> 6. Propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et justitiam: et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua.
> 9. Dilexisti iustitiam, et odisti iniquitatem: propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo laetitiae, prae consortibus tuis.
> 10. Myrrha, et gutta, et casia a vestimentis tuis, a domibus eburneis; ex quibus delectaverunt te filiae regum in honore tuo.
> 11. Astitit Regina a dextris tuis: in vestitu deaurato circundata varietate.
> 12. Audi, filia, et vide: et inclina aurem tuam: et obliviscere populum tuum, et domum patris tui.
> 13. Et concupiscet rex decorem tuum: quoniam ipse est Dominus Deus tuus et adorabunt eum.
> 14. Et filiae Tyri in muneribus: vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes divites plebis.
> 16. Adducentur Regi virgines post eam: proximae ejus afferentur tibi.
> 17. Afferentur in laetitia et exsultatione: adducentur in templum Regis."

The main emphases here are those of wise speech, the love of justice, being granted great happiness, and processing in splendour. This complex of ideas has a general relevance to *Pearl*. Certain phrases, however, have a closer bearing on the poem. The bride is accompanied by many "virgines", and is being led into the temple of the king; in the poem, the "vergyneȝ" (l.

1099) are following the Lamb to the throne. "Obliviscere populum tuum, et domum patris tui. Et concupiscet rex decorem tuum" suggests a parallel with Pearl's death and marriage in heaven:

"When I wente fro yor worlde wete,
He calde me to hys bonerté:
'Cum hyder to me, my lemman swete,
For mote ne spot is non in þe.' (ll. 761-64.)

These last two lines, a direct translation from the Song of Songs, brings us to the material in the Common of Virgins which is drawn from that source.

This book of the Bible, a not very coherent sequence of erotic poems, also alternated between the bridegroom and the bride, but once again the liturgy was not averse to changing the gender concerned when adopting a particular verse. While enhancing the nuptial imagery of Psalm 44, the verses from the Song of Songs also continue the theme of wisdom, since this book was taken as a description of the soul's union with God, an experience open only to those who, like its putative author Solomon, set wisdom above all earthly riches. The main verses concerned are:[17]

1:2. Oleum effusum nomen tuum; ideo adulescentulae dilexerunt te.
1:4. Nigra sum, sed formosa, filiae Ierusalem.
1:11. Dum esset rex in accubitu suo, nardus mea dedit odorem suum.
2:1. Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium.
2:2. Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias.
2:3. Sicut malus inter ligna silvarum, sic dilectus meus inter filios.
2:4. Introduxit me in cellam vinariam: ordinavit in me charitatem.

2:6. Laeva eius sub capite meo, et dextera illius amplexabitur me.
4:7. Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te.
4:11. Favus distillans labia tua, sponsa; mel et lac sub lingua tua; et odor vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor thuris.
4:16. Surge, aquilo, et veni, auster; perfla hortum meum, et fluant aromata illius.
6:12. Revertere, revertere, Sulamitis; revertere, revertere, ut intueamur te.

The key verse here is perhaps "Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te", surely the source of "Cum hyder to me, my lemman swete,/ For mote ne spot is non in þe," mentioned above, as well perhaps of "Vnblemyst I am, wythouten blot" (l.782), and of "Wythouten mote oþer mascle of sulpande synne" (l.726). This phrase recurs constantly in the Office of Our Lady, but is also applied to virgins in general, probably via a verbal echo in the book of Revelation: here, the virgins stand "sine macula" before the throne of God (Rev. 14:5). The verse, allied to "Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias," stresses the idea of purity and whiteness. Obviously, the poem does not develop the opposing idea of "nigra sum", but neither does the liturgy. In contrast, the standard patristic commentaries on this passage, from Ambrose of Milan to Honorius of Autun, stress that the bride is black through sin, but comely through grace.[18] The liturgy, however, ignores "nigra" and stresses "formosa" through its own amplification of this verse: "ideo dilexit me rex et introduxit me in cubiculum suum", a phrase which perhaps lies behind the poem's "To Krystez chambre þat art ichose." (l.904).

A summing-up of this bridal and processional imagery is provided by the Office hymn "Jesu corona virginum", used at Lauds and Second Vespers in all the rites. Jesus is depicted as being himself the virgins' crown, and is then addressed in the two central verses as follows:

> Qui pascis inter lilia,
> Septus choreis virginum:
> Sponsas decorans gloria,
> Sponsisque reddens praemia,
> Quocunque pergis, virgines
> Sequuntur, atque laudibus
> Post te canentes cursitant,
> Hymnosque dulces personant. [19]

Here we have the "vyues" (l.785) of the Lamb, and in the lines "Quocunque pergis, virgines sequuntur", a close verbal parallel to the virgins of Revelation: "Virgines enim sunt. Hi sequuntur Agnum quocumque ierit" (Rev. 14:4). This hymn is perhaps the key text for turning the male virgins of Revelation into the female virgins of the liturgy and of the poem; a male "Confessor", i.e. a holy man whom the liturgy celebrates as "pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus, sobrius, castus" [20], does not have this passage of Scripture applied to him, even though Revelation is one of the sources for the Common of Confessors.

This distinction is supported by the different consecration ceremonies of monks and nuns. The Consecration of Virgins, used at the profession of nuns who were not widows, repeats much of the imagery from the Song of Songs and Psalm 44 discussed above, particularly as used in the liturgy. For example, the ceremony

opens with the antiphon, "Amo Christum in cujus thalamo introivi", an echo of "introduxit me in cubiculum suum"; this antiphon perhaps gives added resonance to the line "To Krystez chambre þat art ichose." (1.904). The solemn blessing of the nun goes on to pray that she may deserve a portion with those "qui sequuntur Agnum et cantant canticum novum sine cessatione." The final prayers include the petition, " ut eam sociare digneris inter illa centum quadraginta quatuor millia qui virgines permanserunt, et secum mulieribus non coinquinaverunt". Although the last phrase might make it more applicable to men, this prayer is not made at the profession of monks.[21]

The hymn also helps to give an important place to the image of the crown in the Common of Virgins. As we have seen, the crown occurs in some of the readings used for the Epistle at Mass. It also appears in one of the antiphons used at Lauds in all the rites: "Veni sponsa Christi, accipe coronam quam tibi Dominus praeparavit in aeternum." It is further used in one of the Matins Responds in the rites of Sarum and Hereford.[22] Although there are several references to crowns in the Commons of male Martyrs and Confessors, the crown is not allied to the themes of virginity and of marriage to Christ, but rather to the idea of reward and glory in general.[23] Again, as with the procession of the Lamb, the Church gave prominence to the crown in relation to women through the Consecration of Virgins. In the middle of this ceremony, the nun sang at the crucial moment of the giving of the ring: "Annulo meo subarravit me Dominus

meus, Jesus Christus, et tanquam sponsam decoravit me corona." [24] In a fifteenth-century English version, the crown is given even more emphasis: "He will crowne yow w^t^ a crowne that shall passe the crowns of golde or precyowse stone, wyth the crowne of glorye and hevenly joye." [25] As a result, the crown as an image must have become particularly attached to the idea of marriage to Christ. In the poem, as discussed above, it becomes the central sign of the Pearl-maiden's new status in heaven.

A link between the female saints and the heavenly Jerusalem, which the poem depicts at length, is also suggested by the liturgy. In the book of Revelation, it is the new Jerusalem which is the bride, coming down out of heaven "sicut sponsam ornatam viro suo" (Rev. 21:2). It is therefore to be expected that female saints, whom the liturgy has depicted in such relentlessly bridal terms, will be seen as in a sense representing the city of Jerusalem. Thus, while most of the psalms used for the Common of Virgins are wedding or coronation psalms, they also include the main psalms celebrating the holy city and Mount Sion: psalms 45, 47, and 86 (A.V. 46, 48, 87). These in turn supply some of the antiphons, such as the one at Matins, "Adjuvabit eam Deus vulto suo, Deus in medio ejus, non commovebitur", which also serves as one of the graduals in all the rites.[26] The heavenly Jerusalem introduces into the whole concept of virginity the idea that heaven is its natural home, or "patria", an idea developed in the final body of material used in the liturgy, that of the Matins homilies.

As stated in the general description of the liturgy, the Matins readings make up the area where one finds the most variation in the texts. Even when the same homily forms the basic text, different excerpts may be used, varying slightly even from breviary to breviary within the same rite, and the text itself may become garbled, or confused with another homily.[27] Fortunately, the basic homilies used for the Common of Virgins come from a narrow pool.

In the Sarum rite, the homily spread over Nocturns I and II is from Book I of Ambrose of Milan's *De Virginibus*.[28] It is here that heaven is seen as the natural home of virginity, the "patria castitatis" and its "genitale domicilium"; the virgin "ibi incola est". The virgin figure is then extended to represent the Church, the "filia Syon", and, as in the psalms, the heavenly Jerusalem: "Virgo est civitas illa Hierusalem quae in caelo est: in quo nullum intrat commune atque immundum." All this may reinforce the situating of the Pearl-maiden in her heavenly setting, particularly within the heavenly city. In the York rite, this homily is relegated to the Common of several Virgins, and a late medieval text substituted instead, possibly from the homilies of Haymo of Faversham.[29] This late homily makes a reference to the Song of Songs: "Haec est virgo quam dominus introduxit in celarium suum" (cf. Cant. 2:4), whom he rewards with the society of angels and archangels; it takes a broadly similar line to Ambrose's. The Hereford rite begins with Ambrose's homily, but soon goes on to Gregory the Great's Homily

12 from his *Homiliae in Evangelium*, a good example of the confusion of texts.[30]

The two Mass-Gospels, the pearl of great price and the wise and foolish virgins, naturally determine the readings of Nocturn III, and in all the rites, these consist of excerpts from homilies 11 and 12 of Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Evangelium*.[31] In Homily 11, the central idea is that the treasure represents desire for heaven, and the field the discipline required to reach it. The treasure is hidden in order to be preserved: if we do good works for human praise, instead of purely to please God, evil spirits will rob us. The merchant then sells all that he has, because he now despises earthly things; "sola preciosae margaritae claritas fulget in mente. De cujus dilectione recte per Salomonem dicitur, Fortis est ut mors dilectio." There may be overtones here of the end of the poem, where the poet has to content himself with a love for the Pearl-maiden, and for the "pearl" of heaven itself, which cuts across death, and bow himself "To pay þe Prince" as a good Christian (ll. 1201-1202). In Homily 12, Gregory interprets the five wise virgins as the five senses of the body, which are to be regulated by chastity, used in its broadest sense. Here, he is simply echoing Augustine's Sermo *De Scripturis* 93 (*De Verbis Domini* 23),[32] which is the homily of Nocturns I and II in the Common of ordinary Virgins in the Sarum rite. In Augustine's interpretation, anyone who uses their five senses properly can be classed as a virgin.

In these homilies, then, the liturgy immensely widens its meditation on the concept of virginity, seeking to make it applicable to all the faithful. It also reinforces some of the ideas found in the poem, by stressing the natural affinity of virginity for heaven. However, because of the variableness of the homiletic excerpts, this section of the liturgical material can only occupy a secondary role in the overall argument relating the Common of Virgins to the poem.

If we look back, then, over this liturgical material, we find in it the following strands: the central image of the pearl of great price; the theme of wisdom, expressed through the wisdom literature of the Old Testament and in the image of the wise virgins; heavy use of processional and bridal imagery; the linking of this imagery to the procession of the Lamb, in which the virgins are given specific reference to women; the image of the crown, symbolizing both virginity and marriage to Christ; and the ultimate bride of Christ, the new Jerusalem. Here we have a rich tapestry of images and ideas which offer a parallel to some of the more unexpected elements of the poem.

3. Conclusion: What the poem may have gained from the Common of Virgins.

As mentioned at the end of the introductory discussion of the Pearl-maiden, the poem assembles some surprising elements in relation to the poet's deceased small daughter.

The first concerns the choice of the pearl of great price as the central image of the entire poem. That this image is not the most obvious, in an elegy for a lost female child or lover, is illustrated in the two works most usually cited as the nearest to *Pearl* in genre: Boccaccio's *Olympia*, an elegy for his daughter Violante, and Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, an elegy for the wife of his patron John of Gaunt. Neither work makes use of this image, even though the name of John of Gaunt's wife, Blanche, might seem to invite it. The first contribution of the liturgy to the poem, then, is perhaps this central image, a possibility already suggested by I. Gollancz and, more recently, by James Oakden, although neither explores the matter further.[33]

The second element which has caused some surprise to scholars is the maturity of the Pearl-maiden in heaven, and, in particular, her role of instructress towards her father, who might be expected to be "her proper teacher and instructor in the natural order", in E. V. Gordon's words.[34] Here the liturgy's use of the image of the wise virgin comes into play. As the Epistle-readings show, "wise" is seen not so much in terms of

behaviour as in the capacity to speak wisdom, and even further, in being the representative of Wisdom itself.

The central point of the debate in the poem, that the Pearl-maiden has not "earned" her high place in heaven by works, also occasioned debate among early commentators.[36] The liturgy here shows that a different emphasis would be quite familiar to a medieval audience: the Common of Virgins, together with the Consecration of Virgins, assigns the high estate of bride of the Lamb to certain persons purely on the grounds of their spotless *state*, a state not so much earned as preserved. This spotlessness and high position are both symbolized by the virgins' crown, a recurring visual detail in the poem.

These two blocks of liturgical material also establish the special connection of the procession of the Lamb to female virgins. As noted when discussing the poem, the Scriptural reference is to male virgins, and earlier scholars have wrestled with this problem by referring to the liturgy for Holy Innocents' day, where the Innocents are seen as making up the 144,000 who follow the Lamb.[37] Although the Innocents were themselves male, Pearl, being under two years old, was numbered among them on account of her age at death. In fact, the two sets of liturgical material are not without links. Perhaps the most striking is that, in the Consecration of Virgins, some versions of the petition "ut eam sociare digneris inter illa centum quadraginta quatuor millia qui virgines permanserunt...", add the word

"infantium" after "millia", thus identifying adult virgin women with the infant male martyrs.[38]

Finally, much debate has surrounded the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in the poem. The general feeling seems to be that the description is too long, given that its function is not clear, and breaks the momentum of the narrative.[39] However, if, as the Common of Virgins suggests, Pearl and her companions, as brides of the Lamb, are representatives of the new Jerusalem, the Scriptural bride, then the transition from maiden to city seems less unexpected. Further, the description of the city, shining with jewels, and with gates each carved out of a single pearl (l. 1037-38), now logically carries over some of the characteristics of the Pearl-maiden's appearance, although the poet is, of course, largely following Scripture. If the new Jerusalem is specially the abode of the spotless, a kind of physical extension of them, then we can see why Pearl says to the dreamer: "To stretch in þe strete þou hatȝ no vygour,/ Bot þou wer clene wythouten mote," (ll. 971-72) and why he has to accept exclusion from the city for the rest of his earthly life.

The Common of Virgins does not, of course, shed light on everything in the poem. In so complex a work, we can expect many other liturgical elements to make important contributions to its many layers. What the Common of Virgins, supported by the Consecration of Virgins, does, is to explain and draw together

the main elements in the presentation of the Pearl-maiden herself.

CHAPTER IV. *CLEANNESS* -- A POEM FOR LENT?

1. Introduction.

The structure of the Middle English poem *Cleanness* (or *Purity*), one of the four poems of British Library MS. Cotton Nero A.x, has struck many readers as odd. Comments range from the euphemistic, such as "The structure is handled fluidly"[1] or "the apparently rambling poem..."[2], to the blunt: "The failure of *Purity* is a failure satisfactorily to integrate [its] vivid tales with one another and with the poem's framework, which consists of intermittent assertions of God's hatred of human impurity."[3]

The poem indeed begins abruptly, with no reason given for embarking on a eulogy of purity (in contrast to its companion piece *Patience*, where a humorous preamble relates the subject to the poet's own poverty). There is no intrinsic, immediately obvious connection between the opening Parable of the Wedding-garment and the three Old Testament narratives which follow, those of the Flood, the destruction of Sodom and Belshazzar's Feast. Moreover, the chronology of events within the poem is not linear: Christ's Nativity precedes Belshazzar's Feast, being inserted after the destruction of Sodom. The poem ends as abruptly as it began.

This structure is the more surprising as two of the other works of the manuscript, *Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Pearl*, can lay claim to being two of the most tightly and delicately constructed poems in Middle English, and at present it is commonly accepted that all four poems are by the same anonymous author.[4] If this is true, we must either decide that *Cleanness* represents a regrettable lapse of craftsmanship on the poet's part, or we need to seek an underlying coherence, one which, while being accessible to the poem's medieval audience, may not be immediately apparent to modern readers.

In an important study, Charlotte Morse [5] has demonstrated the unity of the poem's moral theology, by examining general works of medieval commentary and spirituality such as Alain de Lille's *De Planctu Naturae*.[6] She establishes, for example, the important place that "sin against nature" -- sodomy -- occupied in the late medieval view of sin. However, a comparison with another great religious and moral poem of the time, *Piers Plowman*, shows that impurity, particularly in its physical aspect, did not invariably leap to the fourteenth-century mind as the greatest barrier between man and God. Langland seems far more preoccupied with questions of just dealing and the search for truth. The most interesting contrast is between the soiled coat of the man in the wedding-feast sequence of *Cleanness* (ll. 109-160) and that of Haukin the Active Man in *Piers Plowman* (B.13:270-14:end) which is soiled by pride, vanity and selfishness in general; here, even the common image of a soiled

garment does not suggest similar interpretations to the two poets. We seem to need, then, some kind of specific motivation or context for a discussion of the virtue of purity. I suggest that the liturgy might provide such a context, through the special character and emphases of the season of Septuagesima, the period leading up to and including the feast of Easter.

The seventy days of Septuagesima-tide unite the following elements, taken in an order which roughly corresponds to the unfolding of the poem:

1. Purification, both physical and spiritual, is the season's dominant theme.

2. It is closely related to the theme of Judgement and averting the wrath of God.

3. The whole season is moving towards Low Sunday (the Sunday after Easter), which combines images of feasting with those of new robes, worn by the baptized. These images are already introduced on Easter Day, when several Mass homilies refer to the parable of the wedding-garment. The whole discussion of outer appearance in relation to inner disposition is introduced on Ash Wednesday, in the imagery of sackcloth and ashes.

4. Much of the Old Testament material in the first half of the poem is found in readings and responds at Matins: the fall of Man, the Flood, the career of Abraham.

5. Lent is a season of penitence, with (from the time of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215) emphasis on seeking God's mercy through the sacrament of Confession. It also contains the theme

of healing, represented by some of the prayers and by the many healing miracles in the daily readings at Mass and at Matins. These correspond to the main emphases of the Nativity section of the poem (ll. 1069-1144).

6. Readings at Mass from the book of Daniel have a significant place in Lent. Their thematic importance emerges in conjunction with medieval exegesis of the figure of Daniel: he is the type of those who fast, and of all celibates and "continentes"; he is held up as an example of one who confesses his sins to God, and who remains detached from worldly riches.

7. Belshazzar's feast is not included in the Lenten readings from Daniel; but homilies for Septuagesima draw a parallel between the seventy days from Septuagesima to Low Sunday and the seventy years of the Babylonian captivity, with a similar parallel between the events that bring both periods to a close: the deliverance wrought by Christ in overthrowing the power of death, and the deliverance wrought by Cyrus, after Darius's killing of Belshazzar, when he allowed the Jews to return to their own land.

Obviously, the correspondences are not exact. However, they may be sufficiently suggestive to point to the season of Septuagesima as the possible inspiration for some of the themes of the poem, the source of some its material, and as holding a possible key to its coherence and overall message. First, however, a consideration of the poem will show how its

constituent elements are assembled, and establish its main themes.

2. The Argument of the Poem.

a. Opening themes.

The poem *Cleanness*, as already stated, consists of three Old Testament narratives embedded in a surrounding argument, which contains several minor narratives of its own. As one might expect from a poem associated with the author of *Pearl*, this embedding argument is complex and many-layered. It handles a series of continuously evolving metaphors, which together build up a discussion on the virtue of purity that is both wide-ranging and subtle. It is therefore necessary to examine the unfolding of this argument in some detail, in order to bring out the main themes of the poem.

The complexity of the argument is not perhaps to be expected from the curiously abrupt opening:

> Clannesse who-so kyndly cowþe comende,
> And rekken vp alle þe resounȝ þat ho by riȝt askeȝ,
> Fayre formeȝ myȝt he fynde in forþering his speche,

And in þe contrare kark and combraunce huge. (ll. 1-4.)[7]

This statement is not obviously elaborated. We do not appear to be told why a consideration of the virtue of purity is so obvious a topic for a long poem; we are not given any illustration of the "kark and combraunce" to be found in arguing against it. However, we then realize that the line of thought runs on:

For wonder wroth is þe wyȝ þat wroȝt alle þinges
Wyth þe freke þat in fylþe folȝes hym after. (ll. 5-6)

Is the "kark and combraunce", then, a kind of side-effect of God's wrath against "fylþe"? One of the difficulties of the poem, indeed, is that, more obviously than any of the three other works of the same manuscript, it is presenting a case, arguing a point. *Gawain* is a romance, while *Pearl* and *Patience*, though homilies, are each built round one clear narrative thread. *Cleanness*, however, draws on a variety of narratives to present its case; and this means that, at least to begin with, it is the thread of the argument that must carry us along. It is therefore disconcerting to find the poet supporting his opening claim, not by a commendation of "clannesse", but by a condemnation of "fylþe." It is even more disconcerting, when we get to the end of the poem, to find that the whole work is in some sense an expansion of this first causal clause. The poet concludes, in his penultimate "stanza":

þus vpon þrynne weyss I haf yow þro schewed
þat vnclannes tocleues in corage dere
Of þat wynnelych lorde þat wonyes in heuen,
Entyses hym to be tene, telled vp his wrake. (ll. 1805-8).

So when, we wonder, is the poet going to tell us about "clannesse"? So far, the poem could as well be called "Fylþe". But, of course, under the rather negative guise of discussing the virtue in terms of its opposite, the poet *has* been conveying to us the idea of purity, using a wealth of images and suggestions to provide a positive undertow to the poem. This second layer of discussion asserts itself in the very last "stanza":

> Ande clannes is his comfort, and coyntyse he louyes,
> And þose þat seme arn and swete schyn se his face.
> þat we gon gay in oure gere þat grace he vus sende,
> þat we may serue in his syȝt þer solace neuer blynneȝ.
> (ll. 1809-12).

How, then, have we arrived at this set of powerful images -- God taking "comfort" in the purity of his creatures, the imagery of clothing in "coyntyse" and "gere", the reward of beholding the face of God, and the hope of remaining in his presence with unfading "solace"?

If we return to the explanatory clause at the beginning of the poem, we can see how the poet begins straight away to establish these themes. In the words "For wonder wroth is þe wyȝ that wroȝt alle þinges / Wyth þe freke þat in fylþe folȝes hym after", we see the first hint of one of the main emotional themes of the text: the awe-ful holiness and immensity of God who "wroȝt alle þinges", which entails, as a natural consequence, the necessity for purity in his worshippers. What kind of purity has the poet in mind? He introduces his answer with a consideration

of those who most obviously "approach" God in worship, the clergy:

> As renkeȝ of relygioun þat reden and syngen
> And aprochen to his presens and presteȝ arn called.
> Thay teen vnto his temmple and temen to hymseluen;
> Reken with reuerence þay rychen his auter;
> þay hondel þer his aune body, and vsen hit boþe. (ll. 7-11)

Some key ideas are introduced here: *approaching* the *presence* of God; *adorning* the place of worship; and the *physicality* of the approach to God's presence, *handling* the body of Christ and *using* it. Obviously, the word "usen" here refers to consuming the Eucharistic bread; but it is a particularly telling term in view of the use and abuse of human physicality discussed later in the poem (cf. ll. 202, 251, 267). Even at this point, the term leads straight into a consideration of unworthy use:

> If þay in clannes be clos, þay cleche gret mede,
> Bot if þay conterfete crafte and cortaysye wont,
> As be honest vtwyth and inwith alle fylþeȝ,
> Ƿen are þay synful hemself, and sulped altogeder
> Boþe God and his gere, and hym to greme cachen. (ll. 12-16)

Again, some key ideas are introduced here. First, the idea of reward, *mede*, and its loss through hypocrisy, dissimulation, counterfeit, being one thing on the outside and another on the inside; second, the defilement that this lack of truthfulness causes to the *gere*, here the vessels and vestments of sacramental worship; and third, the denigration of God himself, provoking (naturally and inevitably, according to the poet) his anger.

These ten lines specifically concerned with priests, coming immediately after the statement of the poem's theme, suggest a target audience for the work: the clergy, perhaps a group of secular canons or a monastic community. Such an audience would provide a rationale for a long work (1812 lines) thundering chiefly, as we shall see, against sodomy, where fornication or questions of fair dealing might be more obvious topics for the laity -- the kind of topics, indeed, we see treated in *Piers Plowman*. Further, seeing purity mostly in terms of fitness to approach the presence of God, which the poet emphasises throughout the work, would be particularly relevant to an audience not involved in parish ministry, but chiefly concerned with assuring the services in church ("þat reden and syngen"). The whole theme of appearances, of making the inside match the outside, would also be particularly relevant to "renkeȝ of relygioun".

The introductory narrative of the man without a wedding garment develops the idea of fitting oneself physically to enter the Lord's presence. Before we come to the parable itself, however, the focus shifts from the clergy to a blinding vision of God wrapped in all the shining brightness and beauty of the court of heaven, which prepares us for the lord and his court of the wedding-parable:

> He is so clene in his courte, þe kyng þat al weldeȝ,
> And honeste in his housholde, and hagherlych serued
> With angeleȝ enourled in alle þat is clene
> Boþe withinne and withouten, in wedeȝ ful bryȝt. (ll. 17-20)

This vision of God seems to be influenced by the Biblical description, in the book of Daniel, of the Ancient of Days, "vestimentum eius candidum quasi nix" (Dan. 7:9), surrounded by thousands of angels; it may also be influenced by the image of the throne set in the sea of glass in the book of Revelation (Rev. 4:6), the book of the Bible which furnished the description of the New Jerusalem in *Pearl*. Whatever the source, the important element to notice here is the association of cleanness with brightness, and indeed, if we consult the O.E.D., we find that the word "clean" does contain this overtone. The dictionary gives as its first definition: "Clear; free from anything that dims lustre or transparency", supporting this with a quotation from, among others, the poet's near-contemporary John Trevisa, writing in 1398 -- "Glasse is clene and pure and specyally brighte and clere," (Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, xvi, xcix, 1495). Like Trevisa, our poet seems to see a close connection between these four words, which he applies frequently to jewels. As the poem unfolds, we will see him likening the virtue of purity to a variety of gems, most notably the pearl, but also to beryls and other brilliant stones. This imagery of light and brightness is one of the elements in the poem which most powerfully furnish a positive definition for the virtue of purity.

The other aspect of the poem introduced by these same lines on God surrounded by his angels is the imagery of the court of

heaven. In contrast to *Gawain* and *Pearl*, where the references to God are often Christ-centred,[8] the kennings throughout this poem refer to the Creator, the powerful Lord of heaven: "þe wyȝ þat wrozt alle þinges" (l. 5), "þe kyng þat al weldeȝ" (l. 17), "þe hyȝe kyng in heuen" (l. 50), "þat prynce of parage noble" (l. 167), "þat ilk proper prynce þat paradys weldeȝ" (l. 195), "þe lorde of þe lyfte" (l. 435), he "þat al spedeȝ and spylleȝ" (l. 511), and so on. Again, the Apocalypse could lie behind some of these kennings. Like *Cleanness*, it is a book filled with images of the majesty of God and of his destructive judgement on those who show contempt for him, while promising a place at the heavenly banquet to those who persevere in his service. Sections of it were read at Matins during the first three weeks of Eastertide (after Low Sunday),[9] and its influence may account in part for the apocalyptic tone of the poem and for its scenes of wholesale destruction and violence. Moreover, the poet is at pains to establish the inevitability of the link between the majesty and holiness of God and the destructive backlash provoked when any element of unholiness approaches his presence:

> Nif he nere scoymus and skyg and non scaþe louied,
> Hit were a meruayl to much, hit mozt not falle. (ll. 21-22)

The poet then supports the central place he is giving to the virtue of purity by turning to a text from the Gospels, the Beatitudes. He is thinking of one in particular -- "Me mineȝ on one amonge oþer":

þe haþel clene of his hert hapenez ful fayre,
For he schal loke on oure lorde with a loue chere. (ll. 27-28)

As the poet points out, the Beatitudes are given in the Gospel with their "medes". Again we get the theme of reward, and the particular reward that the poem emphasizes is the beholding of the face of God. To "þat syzt", says the poet, shall no man come "þat any vnclannesse hatz on" (ll. 29-30).

Approaching the presence of God, and beholding his face as a reward, are thus the two ideas presented by the poet in this opening section, and establish the poem's overall theme: as we shall see, they recur throughout the poem. They provide a logical lead-in to the narrative of the wedding-feast, which embodies the theme in a dramatic narrative.

b. The Wedding-Feast.

Fitness to approach the Lord is established from the outset as the central thread in the poet's handling of this parable. Lines 29-30, "to þat syzt seche schal he neuer / þat any vnclannesse hatz on", already suggest the wearing of impurity like a form of clothing,[10] and the poet proceeds to draw out this implication:

Forþy hyz not to heuen in haterez totorne,
Ne in þe harlatez hod and handez vnwaschen. (ll. 33-34)

The "handez vnwaschen" may hark back to the priests who "hondel" the Body of Christ (l. 11): hand-washing recalls the ritual washing of the priest's fingers at the "lavabo" during the Mass. The clothing theme is then used, along with the image of the banquet with all its Eucharistic overtones, to establish a parallel between the honour due to God and that due to earthly lords:

> For what vrþly haþel þat hyz honour haldez
> Wolde lyke if a ladde com lyþerly attyred,
> When he were sette solempnely on a sete ryche,
> Abof dukez on dece, with dayntys serued? (ll. 35-38.)

There then follows the poet's vivid portrayal of the "harlot" in rags, with "rent cokrez at þe kne", torn tabard and "totez oute", and of his violent expulsion. "þus schal he be schent for his schrowde feble", concludes the poet, regardless of the blamelessness of the rest of his conduct -- "þaz neuer in talle ne in tuch he trespas more." (ll. 40-48)

This seems a theologically questionable conclusion in the light of such New Testament maxims as "Love covers a multitude of sins" (I Peter 4:8), but on the other hand, in going on to retell the parable of the Wedding-garment, the poet is addressing himself to a story with a difficult ending and a disturbing message: "Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi" (Matt. 22:14). If an earthly lord takes offence at a disreputable guest, the lord in heaven, says the poet, far from being more understanding, is "harder" on him (l. 50). As it happens, the

same message of "pauci electi" concludes the Gospel for Septuagesima Sunday, the parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (Matt.20:1-16), and as a result, the sentence "Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi" occurs in three antiphons "in evangelio" in Septuagesima week. The season of Septuagesima thus opens with the difficult problem of an invitation addressed to all co-existing with selection and rejection; in the Wedding-Feast parable, the poet is wrestling with the same problem.

In the retelling of this parable, the poet notably sustains the garment imagery he has established. This is his own contribution to the story. In the Biblical account, the stress is on the dismissive casualness with which the guests turn down the host's invitation. The poet too speaks of the "daunger" (contempt) with which the guests draw back (l. 71), but he refers to the invitation as follows:

> And sende his sonde þen to say þat þay samne schulde,
> And in comly quoyntis to come to his feste. (ll. 53-54.)

These "comly quoyntis" (suitable fine clothes) are not even suggested in the Latin of the Vulgate, in spite of the fact that it contains two invitations, and even though it evidently provides the starting-point for the poet's alluring description of the banquet's meats in lines 55-60. St. Matthew's Gospel reads: "Simile factum est regnum caelorum homini regi, qui fecit nuptias filio suo. Et misit servos suos vocare invitatos ad nuptias, et nolebant venire. Iterum misit alios servos, dicens:

Dicite invitatis: Ecce prandium meum paravi, tauri mei et altilia occisa sunt, et omnia parata: venite ad nuptias. Illi autem neglexerunt." (Matt. 22:2-5a.) St. Luke's Gospel, which contains another version of the parable, is even briefer: "Homo quidam fecit coenam magnam, et vocavit multos. Et misit servum suum hora coenae dicere invitatis ut venirent, quia iam parata sunt omnia. Et coeperunt simul omnes excusare." (Luke 14:16b-18a.) It is worth considering the version in Luke, because, although it is Matthew that the poet acknowledges as his source, it is Luke who provides the list of the halt and the blind who replace those originally invited: "pauperes, ac debiles, et caecos, et claudos introduc huc." (Luke 14:21b.) However, in Luke, the story is not extended to cover the episode of the wedding-garment.

The garment imagery is picked up again when the hall has been filled with new guests gathered in off the streets:

> Wheper þay wern worþy oþer wers, wel wern þay stowed,
> Ay the best byfore and bryȝtest atyred,
> Þe derrest at þe hyȝe dese, þat dubbed wer fayrest,
> And syþen on lenþe biloogh ledeȝ inogh;
> And ay a segge soberly semed by his wedeȝ. (ll. 113-117.)

In case we should think that with "bryȝtest attyred" and "dubbed were fayrest" the poet is referring only to guests of high standing, the last line, with its more general word "wedeȝ", makes it clear that the application is to everyone. This is all the more striking as we have already had the poet's vivid description of the blind and halt whom the lord has commanded to be brought in from the scrubs and thickets:

Be þay fers, be þay feble, forlotez none,
Be þay hol, be þay halt, be þay on-yzed,
And þaz þay ben boþe blynde and balterande cruppelez.
(ll. 101-103.)

Given the poet's emphasis on the variety of the guests -- "þe better and ρe wers (l. 80), "Hit weren not alle on wyuez sunez" (l. 112) -- we see the necessity of a wedding garment for each person, in particular to cover the old and torn clothing of the poor, as suggested in l. 144, where the man without a wedding-garment is in "on so ratted a robe and rent at þe sidez". The poet's stress on garments therefore adds coherence to this story. We are prepared for the shock when the lord, coming forth in his splendour, encounters the man whose sordidness is not covered. First we are reminded that it is the lord's presence among his guests which is one of the main sources of pleasure at the banquet; he goes forth to "cherisch hem alle with his cher, and chaufen her joye" (l. 128):

þen he bowez fro his bour into þe brode halle,
And to þe best on þe bench, and bede hym be myry,
Solased hem with semblaunt and syled fyrre,
Tron fro table to table and talkede ay myrþe. (ll. 129-132).

Then, at the climax of the episode, it is the ill-clad guest's temerity in approaching the lord's presence in his torn and dirty clothes that is denounced:

þow art a gome vngoderly in þat goun febele
þou praysed me and my place ful pouer and ful nede,
þat watz so prest to aproche my presens hereinne.
Hopez þou I be a harlot, þi erigaut to prayse? (ll. 145-148)

We see here the poet's contention that to approach God's presence unworthily is to "prayse" (value) him very low. This word "prayse", with its accompanying sense of placing the proper relative value on God and on oneself, recurs at several key points of the poem. Its overtones may be reinforced by a reference to Judas, whose selling of Christ for thirty pieces of silver was linked by the Holy Week liturgy to a bitingly ironic play on the word "appreciatus": "Appenderunt mercedam meam triginta argenteis: quas appreciatus sum ab eis" (Holy Tuesday, Lauds, Ant. 3).[11] The man has not set the proper value either on the lord or on the occasion. As we shall see when discussing the liturgical material, he is "not for a halyday honestly arayed", but "vnþryvandely cloþed, / Ne no festiual frok, bot fyled with werkkeȝ" (ll. 135-6); he is unfit for a great celebration.

This unfitness turns the encounter immediately into a scene of judgement. The lord addresses the man, who is "vngarnyst with god men to dele"(l. 137), and asks him:

> Hov wan þou into þis won in wedeȝ so fowle?
> þe abyt þat þou hatȝ vpon, no halyday hit menskeȝ;
> þou, burne, for no brydale art busked in wedeȝ.
> How watȝ þou hardy þis hous for þyn vnhap neȝe,
> In on so ratted a robe, and rent at the sydeȝ?
> þow art a gome vngoderly in þat goun febele. (ll. 140-45).

This vivid encounter, with its rich garment vocabulary -- "cloþed", "frok", "wedeȝ", "abyt", "robe", "goun", and, three lines further on, "erigaut" -- is entirely added by the poet. The Biblical account has nothing to say concerning the man's

actual appearance: "Intravit autem rex ut videret discumbentes, et vidit ibi hominem non vestitum veste nuptiali. Et ait illi: Amice, quomodo huc intrasti non habens vestem nuptialem? At ille obmutuit." (Matt. 22:11-12.) Most startling of all is the poem's last line in this story of the wedding-garment: after being bound and cast out, the man is thrown into the lord's dungeon "to teche him to be quoynt" (l. 160), i.e. well-dressed.

The poet now proceeds to sum up the meaning of this parable with regard to his argument. As mentioned above, the Gospel account concludes, "Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi" (Matt. 22:14), a somewhat enigmatic statement which allows room for a variety of interpretations. The poet sees in the "fele", the many that are called, all who are "fulwed in font", that is, all who are cleansed in baptism. He then at once picks up the garment image again, a connection which may be significant in view of the Easter use of the imagery of baptismal robes, and uses it to draw the themes of this entire opening section together in a warning:

> Bot war þe wel, if þou wylt, þy wedeȝ ben clene,
> And honest for þe halyday, lest þou harme lache;
> For aproch þou to þat prynce of parage noble,
> He hates helle no more þen hem þat are sowle. (ll. 165-8).

Here we have garments, the idea of being "honest" (suitable, fit) for a celebration, the idea of approaching the presence of God, and God's repugnance at the sight of filth. The poet goes on to

bring out the moral significance of the garment imagery: "þy wedeȝ þou wrappeȝ þe inne" (l. 169) are one's actions, "lyned" (l. 172) with the disposition of one's heart. The reward, as we have seen, is the vision of God: "þenne may þou se þy sauior and his sete ryche." (l. 176). Conversely, the worst punishment is to forfeit that vision:

> For fele fauteȝ may a freke forfete his blysse,
> þat he þe souerayn ne se. (ll. 177-8).

If torment is mentioned, it is only as an aside:

> Man may mysse þe myrþe þat much is to prayse
> For such vnþeweȝ as þise, and þole much payne,
> And in þe creatores cort com neuer more,
> Ne neuer see hym with syȝt, for such sour tourneȝ.
> (ll. 189-92).

The repetition of "see" and "syȝt", with the alliterative stress falling on both words, gives a particular poignancy to this last line.

c. The transition to the story of the Flood.

The poet now gives an impressively wide list of the "unþeweȝ" which may lose a man the vision of God. They include general attitudes such as sloth and pride, probably suggested by the Seven Deadly Sins, criminal acts such as manslaughter and theft, probably derived from the Ten Commandments, and an interesting list of social sins such as depriving widows of their

dowries. The full list reads: "slauþe", "bobaunce and bost and bolnande priyde", "couetyse", "colwarde", "croked dedeȝ", "monsworne", "mensclaȝt", "to much drynk", "þefte", "þrepyng" (quarrelling), "roborrye", "riboudrye", "resouneȝ vntrwe", "dysheriete", "depryue dowrie of wydoeȝ", "marryng of maryageȝ", "mayntnaunce of schreweȝ", "traysoun", "trichcherye", "tyrauntyre", "fals famacions", and "fayned laweȝ" (ll. 178-88). The completeness of this list has been introduced by a new development of the garment image. It is not just our clothes that we are to be careful of; our whole form, our whole appearance, has to be clean and pleasing:

> þat þo be frely and fresch fonde in þy lyue,
> And fetyse of a fayr forme to fote and to honde,
> And syþen alle þyn oþer lymeȝ lapped ful clene;
> þenne may þou se þy sauior and his sete ryche. (ll. 173-6).

There is a shift in focus here from clothing to the body, the "lymeȝ", it enwraps; and this in turn, on the level of the argument, prepares the way for a shift of attention from "vnþewez" in general to "fylþe of þe flesch" (l. 202) in particular. So, despite this initial wide interpretation of impurity, the poem actually proceeds to focus narrowly on one sin only, and that a physical one: sodomy.

This section of the poem, then, forming the transition between the parable of the Wedding-Garment and the story of the Flood, represents an important new step in the argument: the physical realm, from operating as a symbol for the place and

means of coming into the presence of God, now becomes the literal object of discussion. There has been a sharpening and concretizing of the focus onto limbs, the flesh, and therefore misuse of the flesh. The poet leads up to this last point carefully. He says that the lord of Paradise "Is displesed at vch a poynt þat plyes to scaþe" (l. 196), but goes on:

> Bot neuer yet in no boke breued I herde
> þat euer he wrek so wyþerly on werk þat he made,
> Ne venged for no vilte of vice ne synne,
> Ne so hastyfly watȝ hot for hatel of his wylle,
> Ne neuer so sodenly soȝt vnsoundely to weng,
> As for fylþe of þe flesch þat foles han vsed;
> For, as I fynde, þere he forȝet alle his fre þeweȝ,
> And wex wod to þe wrache for wrath at his hert.
> (ll. 197-204).

This careful preparation is necessary since the poet in fact goes on to describe the spiritual sin of pride, in order to provide a contrast beween God's reasonable and measured response to this sin and his quite unmeasured response to misuse of the flesh.

The Fall of Lucifer, which illustrates the sin of pride, takes up the transition from garments to appearance in general. Lucifer was of all the angels "attled þe fayrest" (l. 207), but "He seȝ noȝt bot hymself, how semly he were" (l. 209). He has been led astray by his own beauty, and instead of rejoicing in the vision of God, rejoices in the vision of himself. As soon as he utters his desire to set up his throne and be equal to God, he is cast down into hell. Although he is "so fers for his fayre wedeȝ, / And his glorious glem that glent so bryȝt" (ll. 217-18),

he and the thousands of rebel angels banished with him are now "fendez ful blake" (l. 221).

This theme of personal beauty, and its possible power to corrupt and mislead, then dominates the introduction of the story of Noah. The poet has passed fairly swiftly over Adam and Eve, pointing out that their spiritual sin of disobedience and failure in "trawþe" (l. 236) was again avenged "in mesure and meþe" (l. 247), rather than in the wholesale destruction that we are about to see visited on the earth "for fylþe vpon folde þat þe folk vsed" (l. 251). The poet comments at length on the pleasing appearance of the early descendents of Adam, the perfect man:

> Hit wern þe fayrest of forme and of face als,
> þe most and myriest þat maked wern euer,
> þe styfest, þe stalworþest þat stode euer on fete,
> And lengest lyf in hem lent of ledez alle oþer.
> For hit was þe forme foster þat þe folde bred,
> þe aþel auncesterez sunez þat Adam watz called,
> To wham God hade geuen alle þat gayn were,
> Alle þe blysse boute blame þat bodi myzt haue.
> And þose lykkest to þe lede þat lyued next after;
> Forþy so semly to see syþen wern none. (ll. 253-262).

This is obviously leading up to the Biblical, "videntes filii Dei filias hominum quod essent pulchrae" (Gen. 6:2), a passage with which the Noah story begins in the Matins readings for Sexagesima. First, however, the poet introduces another point: he says that these early men had only to obey the law of nature, "kynde" (l. 263), and "alle hit cors clanly fulfylle" (l.

264). He thus establishes the goodness of nature in itself. Men, however, chose to act against nature:

> And þenne founden þay fylþe in fleschlych dedeȝ,
> And controeued agayn kynde contrare werkeȝ,
> And vsed hem vnþryftyly vchon on oþer,
> And als with oþer, wylsfully, upon a wrange wyse.
> (ll. 265-68).

The abruptness of this introduction of sin suggests that the temptation that provokes it has already, in the poet's mind, been adequately described. Since what we have is his long description of the beauty of these first human beings, we conclude that they were in some sense seduced by one another's physical appearance. We also see here the significant term "vse", already found at the beginning of the Noah story at line 251, and before that in line 11, where it referred to priests handling and consuming the Body of Christ. In these last lines the implication is of sexual misuse, which defiles the body; and it is only after this defilement that the ugly fiends of hell (the Biblical "filii Dei") find human women attractive:

> So ferly fowled her flesch þat þe fende loked
> How þe deȝter of þe douþe wern derelych fayre,
> And fallen in felaȝschyp with hem on folken wyse,
> And engendered on hem ieauntez with her japeȝ ille.
> (ll. 269-272).

This "felaȝschyp" implies a spiritual distortion of human beauty similar to the fall of the fiends from shining angels to black devils. In contrast, the man Noah, when he appears on the scene, "rewled him fayre/ In þe drede of dryȝtyn his dayeȝ he

vseȝ" (ll. 294-5). "Fayre" and "vse" both serve to point this contrast.

A discussion of the actual Flood narrative forms no part of a description of the unfolding of the poem's framing argument. The only detail that need be noted here is the cleansing nature of the Flood. "I schal waken vp a water to wasch alle þe worlde", says God at line 323, and again, he says he will send a deluge of rain "þat schal wasch alle þe worlde of werkeȝ of fylþe" (l.355). This idea of washing inevitably reminds us of baptism, the cleansing in the font referred to in line 164; and this same idea occurs again, at the end of the Noah story, when the poet is summing up the significance of this section of the poem:

> Forþy war þe now, wyȝe, þat worschyp desyres
> In his comlych courte þat kyng is of blysse,
> In þe fylþe of þe flesch þat þou be founden neuer,
> Tyl any water in þe worlde to wasche þe fayly. (ll. 545-48).

With these words the poet brings us back to the "court" of the Wedding-Feast, where each guest is greeted with honour - if, that is, he is cleanly dressed. The poet, indeed, goes on to remind us of the need to be without spot, and of the penalty:

> For is no segge vnder sunne so seme of his craftez,
> If he be sulped in synne þat syttez vnclene,
> On spec of a spote may spede to mysse
> Of þe syȝte of þe souerayn þat syttez so hyȝe. (ll. 549-52).

The idea of spotlessness is then reinforced with the imagery of the shining beryl and the flawless pearl:

> For þat schewe me schale in þo schyre howswez
> As þe beryl bornyst byhouez be clene,
> Þat is sounde on vche a syde and no sem habes,
> Withouten maskle oþer mote, as margerye-perle. (ll. 553-56)

This shining flawlessness is necessary to fit us for the "schyre howsez" of heaven, where sits the "souerayn" of the previous stanza. We have been brought back to the theme of the vision of God, or rather the loss of it, and the poet reiterates this idea as he makes the transition to the next major section of the poem, the story of the Destruction of Sodom. After the wholesale sweeping away of creation in the Flood, God returns to "þe mesure of his mode and meþe of his wylle" (l. 565), and regrets his anger; he makes a covenant with mankind never again to destroy the world. However, says the poet, the same sin of sexual perversion caused him to destroy a whole people (ll. 561-72). He comments:

> And al watz for þis ilk euel, þat vnhappen glette,
> þe venym and þe vylanye and þe vycios fylþe
> þat bysulpez mannez saule in vnsounde hert,
> þat he his saueour ne see with syzt of his yzen.
> (ll. 573-6).

This adds some explanation of the connection beween the sin and the penalty. "Vycios fylþe" of the flesh defiles, "bysulpes", the soul, and indicates an unsound heart; and this inconstancy of the heart and staining of the soul render a person incapable of beholding God -- or so the syntax of the above lines would

suggest. The poet further implies this damage to the self in the next stanza, where he reiterates the point that God hates sexual sin in particular, describing it as "harlottrye vnhonest, heþyng of seluen" (l. 579), contempt of one's self. The next three stanzas (ll. 581-92) elaborate the idea that God sees into the inmost heart, and that nothing can possibly be hidden from him, concluding:

> For he is þe gropande God, þe grounde of alle dedeȝ,
> Rypande of vche a ring þe reynyeȝ and hert. (ll. 591-92).

The poet rounds off this passage with a consideration of the pure in heart:

> And þere he fyndeȝ al fayre a freke wythinne,
> þat hert honest and hol, þat haþel he honoureȝ,
> Sendeȝ hym a sad syȝt, to se his auen face,
> And harde honyseȝ þise oþer and of his erde flemeȝ.
> (ll. 593-96).

This last line, in which God drives those whom he curses from his dwelling, recalls the ending of the Parable of the Wedding-Garment, and thus helps to maintain the unity and coherence of the poem's framework. With this reference to driving out, the poet is also ready to bring our attention back to the destruction of the people of Sodom, which he does in the next stanza. This then allows him to launch into the narrative proper a stanza later, with the serene image of Abraham at the oak of Mamre.

d. Abraham at the Oak of Mamre.

Again, this next major section of the poem does not form part of a discussion of the framing argument. However, just as we noticed the references to washing in the Flood narrative, which, on the level of imagery, helped to embed that section in the framework, so in this second narrative we see the poet carrying over the theme of beauty. In the angels who visit Abraham, we see personal beauty as a reflection of the brightness of God, and when they go down into Sodom, we see the seductive power of that beauty. Perhaps, too, is there an implication that the desperate lust of the citizens of Sodom for the angels is a kind of perverted, despairing desire for the beauty of the face of God.

The three angels who dine with Abraham are announced by their general bearing and appearance:

> Fenne watȝ he war on þe waye of wlonk wyȝeȝ þrynne;
> If þay wer farande and fre and fayre to beholde,
> Hit is eþe to leue by þe last ende. (ll. 606-8).

No details are given here, but the lines mysteriously suggest the compelling power of the angels' presence. Their visitation leads into the exquisite solemnity of the meal with Abraham, which in turn picks up the imagery of the lord's feast. But here Abraham is the host, God himself is the guest. Consequently, the imagery here is not of lordly wealth and abundance, but of humility and simplicity.

ƿe burne to be bare-heued buskeȝ hym þenne,
Clecheȝ to a clene cloþe and kesteȝ on þe grene,
ƿrwe þryftyly þeron þo þre þerue-kakeȝ,
And bryngeȝ butter wythal and by þe bred setteȝ.
(ll. 633-36).

Yet this simple meal forms, I suggest, the emotional heart of the second, more positive layer of the poem. For here we come closest to the actual beholding by a human being of the face of God:

And God as a glad gest mad god chere,
þat watȝ fayn of his frende and his fest praysed;
Abraham, al hodleȝ, with armeȝ vpfolden,
Mynystred mete byfore þo men þat myȝteȝ al weldeȝ.
(ll. 641-44).

Set between two scenes of cataclysmic violence (the Flood and the destruction of Sodom), this moment of true, pure encounter with God forms a still centre to the poem. A breathless hush seems to attend this scene, which combines worship, joy and reverent affection.

Throughout this episode, the angels have remained faceless. When only the two angels, however, go down into Sodom, "meuande mekely togeder as myry men ȝonge" (l. 783), we see why their appearance so maddens the citizens with desire. Lot sees approaching "swete men tweyne" (l. 788):

Bolde burneȝ wer þay boþe, with berdles chynneȝ,
Royl rollande fax to raw sylk lyke,
Of ble as þe brere-flour, where-so þe bare scheweed.
Ful clene watȝ þe countenaunce of her cler yȝen;
Wlonk whit watȝ her wede, and wel hit hem semed;
Of alle featureȝ ful fyn, and faultleȝ boþe;
Watȝ non aucly in ouþer, for aungels hit wern. (ll. 789-95).

Because they are angels, messengers and representatives of God, their beauty is without blemish ("non aucly"), perfect. Lot's two young daughters are also "semly and swete and swyþe wel arayed" (l. 816); but their beauty is merely earthly, and when Lot offers these "maydenez vnmard" (l. 867) to the crowd in place of the two angels, their appearance has no power to outweigh the fact that they are, in this situation, of the wrong sex.

The clamouring of the crowd for unnatural pleasure gives way, the next day, to the violence of the natural forces which destroy the city. With this destruction, which ends in the silence and absence of life of the Dead Sea, the poet returns to the embedding argument. These events, he says, are "teches and tokenes" (l. 1049) whereby "vch wyze may wel wyt þat he [God] þe wlonk louies" (l. 1052). This allows him to return to the image of the lord receiving his guests in his hall:

> And if he louyes clene layk þat is oure lorde ryche,
> And to be couþe in his courte þou coueytes þenne,
> To se þat semly in sete and his swete face,
> Clerrer counsayl con I non bot þat þou clene worþe.
> (ll. 1053-56).

Being "couþe" (known) to God inevitably brings us back to the theme of the vision of God. But we notice a slight difference: in these stanzas leading up to the appearing of the infant Christ in the poem, we find an increasingly human note, in the sense that the imagery changes from that of lord and guest to that of lovers. We now want to see "his *swete* face"; and the poet proceeds to draw out the implication of lover-like devotion by

turning for advice to the "clene rose" of "Clopygnel", the *Roman de la Rose* of Jean de Meun. It is at first startling to find this satirical if beautiful work, with its cynical survey of the trickery employed in love by both sexes, being associated with the search for purity; but our poet is obviously using it as a kind of handbook on the science of love. He draws from it the lesson of the imitation of the beloved:

> Loke to hir sone
> Of wich beryng þat ho be, and wych ho best louyes;
> And be ryȝt such in vch a borȝe, of body and of dedes,
> And folȝ þe fet of þat fere þat þou fre haldes.
> (ll. 1059-62).

He then transfers this shaping "of body and of dedes" to the imitation of Christ:

> If þou wyl dele drwrye wyth dryȝtyn þenne,
> And lelly louy þy lorde and his leef worþe,
> Þenne confourme þe to Kryst, and clene make,
> Þat euer is polyced als playn as þe perle seluen.
> (ll. 1065-68).

Here we pick up the idea of reflected beauty, a reflection which is a willed process on the part of the one approaching God. These lines thus give us a positive elaboration of the idea of purity: its cultivation enables a soul to behold its beloved, God, and this cultivation is to be seen as a process of wooing. The argument has moved on a step from the rather negative definition of purity which has dominated the two preceding narratives, where it is seen as the absence of "filþe", more specifically the physical defilement of sexual perversion. But

then, the whole level of the poem's imagery has shifted: from the literal, concrete consideration of the flesh in relation to impurity, we are back to the symbolic use of the physical as the place of encounter with God, a symbol which we saw operating at the beginning of the poem. This allows the discussion to widen from its rather narrow concentration on one sin, sodomy, to its original scope of including all the frailties of man's nature. The poem is now ready to consider the remedy for impurity.

e. The Incarnation of Christ.

God's awe-ful holiness cannot abide contact with the least defilement, even when it is incarnate in the realm of flesh and time:

> By nobleye of his norture he nolde neuer towche
> Oȝt þat waȝvngoderly oþer ordure watȝ inne. (ll. 1091-92).

A paradox, however, becomes apparent through the figure of Christ, as though the introduction of the Second Person of the Trinity reveals complexity in the nature of God: this divine purity, when incarnate, proves not to be destructive but healing and reconciling. Even at the moment of the Saviour's birth, "venkkyst watȝ no vergynyte, ne vyolence maked", but, if anything, the state of his mother Mary is enhanced: "Bot much clener watȝ hir corse God kynned þerinne" (ll. 1071-72). His

presence turns a normally traumatic and rather squalid experience into a serene and beautiful one:

> Watȝ neuer so blysful a bour as watȝ a bos þenne,
> Ne no schroude-hous so schene as a schepon þare, ...
> And þer watȝ rose reflayr where rote hatȝ ben euer,
> And þer watȝ solace and songe wher sorȝ hatȝ ay cryed.
> (ll. 1075-6, 1079-80.)

Overtones of the court of heaven are present in the burst of angelic music that accompanies the moment of birth, and in the fact that the child himself is "burnyst so clene" (l. 1085) that the ox and ass recognise him as "kyng of nature" (l. 1087). "Yet", stresses the poet, the defiled -- symbolised by the deformed and diseased -- approach him, during his adult ministry, for healing. The list of these afflicted ones recalls that of the motley crowd of guests gathered into the Wedding-Feast:

> Ȝet comen lodly to þat lede, as laȝares monye,
> Summe lepre, summe lome, and lomerande blynde,
> Poysened and parlatyk and pyned in fyres,
> Drye folk and ydropike, and dede at þe laste. (ll. 1093-96).

In this later scene, however, it is precisely the terrible force of the lord's purity, embodied in Christ, which enables him to cleanse or excise any uncleanness, however deepseated. His touch is sharper and surer than that of all the knives of Toulouse, says the poet (l. 1108). There is also implicit in this whole section a vital distinction of attitude on the part of those who approach God. In the parable, the man without a wedding-garment has dared to come into the lord's presence because he "praysed"

him and his dwelling "ful pouer and ful nede" (l. 146), whereas the sick and disreputable come to Christ precisely because they recognise him as "kyng of nature". They have valued him, and themselves in relation to him, correctly.

The poet goes on to put a value on his present audience, and to ask how we are to be made fit to approach God, seeing that the purifying activity of Chíst's earthly ministry is not available to us:

> Þus is he kyryous and clene þat þou his cort askes;
> Hov schulde þou com to his kyþ bot if þou clene were?
> Nov are we sore and synful and sovly vchone,
> How schulde we se, þen may we say, þat syre upon throne?
> (ll. 1109-1112).

The answer is that God, as shown through the ministry of Christ, is "mercyable" (l. 1113) to those who approach him with the right disposition, and provides a means of approach through sacramental confession:

> Þou may schyne þurȝ schryfte, þaȝ þou haf schome serued,
> And pure þe with penaunce tyl þou a perle worþe.
> (ll. 1115-16).

The image of the pearl reminds us of the theme of the imitation of Christ, "þat euer is polyced als playn as þe perle seluen" (l. 1068), with its accompanying idea of consciously reflected beauty. The effort of confession restores us to Christ-likeness, an implication that the poet draws out by launching into three stanzas on the nature of pearls. The pearl "praysed is prys" (l. 1117) among jewels, because, though it is not the most costly in

monetary terms, its pure round whiteness is "withouten faut oþer fylþe" (l. 1122), and if it has been neglected, it has only to be washed in wine "to becom clerer þen are" (l. 1128). This washing reminds us of the strand of baptismal imagery in the poem, as seen in the reference to baptism at the end of the parable of the Wedding-Garment (l. 164) and in the washing of the world referred to in Noah's Flood. Confession, then, is a kind of personal Flood, or rather, a restoring of one's true nature as bestowed in baptism. As we shall see when examining the liturgy, the season of Lent, leading up to the ceremony of baptism on Easter night, was par excellence the time for self-examination and confession. The poet sums up:

> So if folk be defowled by vnfre chaunce,
> Þat he be sulped in sawle, seche to schryfte;
> And he may polyce hym at þe prest, by penaunce taken,
> Wel bryȝter þen þe beryl oþer browden perles.
> (ll. 1129-1132).

One might imagine that this would be a good place to round off the poem. The poet has restored us to hope, showing us a way of securing a wedding-garment with which to go into the feast. Instead, however, he sounds a solemn warning:

> Bot war þe wel, if þou be waschen wyth water of schryfte,
> And polysed als playn as parchmen schauen,
> Sulp no more þenne in synne þy saule þerafter,
> For þenne þou dryȝtyn dyspleses with dedes ful sore,
> And entyses hym to tene more trayþly þen euer,
> And wel hatter to hate þen hade þou not waschen;
> For when a sawele is saȝtled and sakre to dryȝtyn,
> He holly haldes hit his, and haue it he wolde. (ll. 1133-40).

As we shall see, some of the liturgical material for Lent sounds a strikingly similar warning. Here, the poet proceeds to represent souls "saȝtled and sakre to dryȝtyn" as holy vessels consecrated to God's service, thus bringing us back to the Eucharistic overtones of the opening of the poem. This image of vessels also allows him to embark on the third major section of the poem, the story of Belshazzar's feast.

f. Belshazzar's feast.

In this last narrative, several of the images used in the poem's framework jostle for attention. There is, most obviously, the image of the feast itself, though here it is an anti-feast: Belshazzar's drunken and licentious orgy could hardly be in stronger contrast to the gracious, well-ordered "myrþe" of the Wedding-Feast or, within the second narrative, to the profound tranquillity and simplicity of Abraham's meal with the angels. The list of the guests also contrasts with the list of the blind and halt who come to the wedding-feast, and the list of lepers and others who approach Christ: now it is the rich and powerful who flock to the great feast that Belshazzar ordains in Babylon, "kynges, cayseres", "ludisch lordes" (ll. 1375-76).

There is also a play on the idea of garments suitable for a feast. Here, fine clothes express inappropriate arrogance, and, along with feasting itself, serve to characterize Belshazzar:

> In þe clernes of his concubines and curious wedeȝ,
> In noting of nwe metes and of nice gettes,
> Al watȝ þe mynde of þat man on misschapen þinges.
> (ll. 1353-55).

When all the guests are assembled, their appearance presents a magnificent spectacle, while Belshazzar himself sits in state on the dais, surrounded by his concubines "in cloþes ful bryȝt". Thus, not only do the guests contrast with those of the wedding-feast, but so does the lord; this is not a host mingling warmly and humbly with his guests as he "ferked ouer þe flor" (l. 133) of the hall, but one whose sole purpose is to show off his own splendour.

Then there are the holy vessels, which gather up the imagery of brightness and jewels with which the poem symbolises holiness, purity, Christ-likeness. Here, the imagery goes a step further, in that the vessels represent not so much the holiness and purity of man, but the beauty and holiness of God; to look on the Temple vessels is to behold something of the divine brightness and glory. Two long and exuberant descriptions of the vessels contribute to the atmosphere of exotic splendour conjured up by this third narrative. The first (ll. 1269-80) concentrates on the idea of brightness and light: the terms

"bras", "golde", "bryȝt", "schyre" dominate, and the main focus in on(the) great candlestick of the Holy of Holies:

> And þe chef chaundeler, charged with þe lyȝt,
> Þat ber þe lamp vpon lofte þat lemed euermore
> Bifore þe sancta sanctorum, þere selcouth watȝ ofte.
> (ll. 1272-74).

The second (ll. 1451-88), comprising nine stanzas of dense visual detail, concentrates on the intricacy of the vessels' craftsmanship and on the gems with which they are adorned. Significantly, it is through the beauty of the Temple vessels that Nebuchadnezzar comes to honour, to "prayse", the God of Israel:

> Bot þe ioy of þe iuelrye, so gentyle and ryche,
> When hit watȝ schewed hym so schene, sharp watȝ his wonder;
> Of such vessel auayed, þat vayled so huge,
> Neuer ȝet nas Nabugodenoȝar er þenne.
> He sesed hem with solemnete, þe souerayn he praysed
> Þat watȝ aþel ouer alle, Israel dryȝtyn;
> Such god, such gounes, such gay vesselles
> Comen neuer out of kyth to Caldee reames. (ll. 1309-1316).

Nebuchadnezzar responded "with solemnete" to the beauty of the jewels, displaying a right attitude to God. In Belshazzar's response, however, we see another theme of the poem, seduction by beauty into a wrong approach to it. In his misuse of the Temple vessels, setting them up at the banquet for his concubines to drink from, and to pour libations to idols, Belshazar parallels the perverted approach of the men of Sodom to the beauty of the angels. Even Nebuchadnezzar, having seen the Lord's beauty, is later seduced, like Lucifer, by the sense of his own worth and

power; his own beauty fills his sight, and, like Lucifer, he is cast down. As for Belshazzar, the defiler of the Temple vessels, the poet awards him a particularly gory end, one not mentioned in the Vulgate (cf. Dan. 5:30).

This brings us to the extraordinarily abrupt ending of the work as a whole. After Belshazzar's death and Darius's seizing of his kingdom (ll. 1785-96), the poem has only four stanzas in which to sum up its message. Two of these are specifically devoted to Belshazzar: he had "defowled" (l. 1798) "þe ornementes of Goddez hous" (l. 1799), and is consequently cast out from both the joys of this life (ll. 1801-2) and those of heaven, particularly from the vision of God: "To loke on oure lofly lorde late bitydes." (l. 1804).

The remaining two stanzas are the ones discussed at the beginning of this study of the poem's argument. As was said then, the poem has, at the most obvious level, devoted itself to the subject of impurity; what it has to say about the positive virtue of "clannesse" is conveyed more subtly, through the intertwining of several strands of imagery. What have we learnt, then, on the subject of purity, now that we have come to the end of the poem?

Purity, says the poet, allows us to approach the blinding holiness of God. This approach is represented in the clergy's physical "handling" of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist, with

its attendant consecrated objects: temple, altar, vestments, vessels. Thus, purity fits our physical, as well as our spiritual, nature for an encounter with God, and strengthens the soul's capacity for the supreme reward of all: to enter the court of heaven, to behold the face of God, and to take part in the heavenly banquet, where the continuing presence of God is the main source of joy. Purity in the creature delights God because it is a sort of correspondence to, or reflection of, the purity of God himself and of his angels, which is manifested as dazzling brightness, similar to the brightness and beauty of gems. To cultivate purity, therefore, is to restore this brightness in oneself, to re-establish one's likeness to Christ the pearl. This likeness was established in the washing of baptism, and can be restored by the washing of sacramental Confession. To work at purification is to cover the poverty of one's nature with the wedding-garment provided by God; it expresses our "prayse", our valuing of God and of his kingdom. Supremely, this work is not primarily concerned with oneself: it is a lover's courting of the beloved, and therefore its ultimate focus is on God himself.

If we turn to the season of Septuagesima, which includes Lent and the first week after Easter, we will see many of these strands gathered up in a way that considerably reinforces the impact and coherence of this second, more hidden layer of the poem. Lent itself has this double-layered quality. Most obviously, it is a season of fasting and penance, when the churches are stripped of ornaments, and priests and people

consider their sins. However, it gained this character precisely because it forms the preparation for Easter, the most important celebration of the Church's year, when, by tradition, the newly baptized were received into the congregation and participated in the Eucharist for the first time. Thus this season of the Church's year, which is the one most obviously given over to a consideration of impurity and of God's judgement, culminates in the joyful imagery of baptismal robes and the Eucharistic banquet.

3. The Liturgical Material.

a. The unfolding of Septuagesima-tide.

As indicated above in the discussion of the *Temporale* of the Church's Calendar, Easter was originally the central feast of the year, preceded by a period of fasting which was built up in gradual stages, and followed by a season of celebration that lasted until Pentecost.[12] For reasons that remain obscure, as we saw, the season of preparation was eventually extended right back to Septuagesima Sunday. This was to have important consequences for the understanding of Lent and Easter: once in place, the concept of "seventy days", implied in the name Septuagesima, took over so strongly that a revision of the significance of the season's components ensued. The key factor in this revision was the ending of the seventy days, if we count forwards from Septuagesima Sunday, not on Easter Day, but on the following Saturday, "Sabbato in albis", the eve of Low Sunday. Easter Day, therefore, while still a feast of supreme importance in itself, is no longer the grand climax to the whole season; the definitive change from the penitential season of preparation to the season of celebration occurs a week later. This, in turn, throws a heavier emphasis onto Low Sunday, "Dominica in albis", when, traditionally, the white robes of the newly baptized were worn for the last time.

The new layout consisted of the following sequence of units:

Septuagesima	
Septuagesima week.	
Sexagesima	= 3 weeks.
Sexagesima week.	
Quinquagesima	
Quinquagesima week, including Ash Wednesday.	
Lent I ("Invocavit").	
First week of Lent, including Ember Days.	
Lent II ("Reminiscere").	
Second week of Lent.	
Lent III ("Oculi").	= 4 weeks.
Third week of Lent.	
Lent IV ("Laetare" -- Mid-Lent Sunday).	
Fourth week of Lent.	
Passion Sunday.	
Passion week.	= 2 weeks.
Palm Sunday.	(Passiontide)
Holy Week.	
Easter Day	= 1 week.
Easter Octave.	

Liturgically, the first block of three weeks forms a sort of pre-Lent, when "Alleluia" and the "Gloria in excelsis" are no longer sung, but otherwise the Office continues largely in its ordinary, "per annum", form. The Lenten fast begins on Ash Wednesday, half-way through Quinquagesima week, and this day has a liturgy entirely its own. After that, the week returns more or less to normal.

It is not until the First Sunday of Lent that the Lenten Office really begins. This consists of a set of antiphons, short chapters and hymns which will last throughout the four weeks of Lent proper, or Quadragesima. Further, from Ash Wednesday there

are different Mass lections for each day of the week, right up to Easter, whereas during the rest of the year, including the other penitential season of Advent, different readings are provided for Wednesdays and Fridays only, if at all. This means that the Lenten liturgy is distinguished by its wealth of material, particularly through the daily Gospels. This has an effect, in turn, on the readings at Matins: in some rites, such as the Benedictine Office of Hyde Abbey, there are daily homiletic readings on the Gospel. Other rites, such as Sarum and York, mark the first week of Lent with lengthy homiletic readings on the fast in general; after that, they return to the usual pattern of Scriptural readings during the week, keeping homilies for Sundays only. The four weeks of Quadragesima are also marked by confusing terminology: in the service books, each of the four Sundays of Lent is frequently named by the first word of its Mass Introit, as given above; in addition, Laetare (Lent IV) is known as Mid-Lent, as it forms the mid-point of the six week fast.

The two weeks immediately before Easter, Passiontide, have their own set of antiphons, chapters and so on, including the beautiful and famous hymns of Venantius Fortunatus, "Vexilla regis", "Pange lingua gloriosi" and "Lustra Sex".[13] The Matins readings are taken from the prophet Jeremiah, and lead naturally into the Book of Lamentations, also traditionally ascribed to him, which is read during the last three days of Holy Week. The Mass lections concentrate on the lead-up to the Lord's Passion, and the Passion itself.

Finally, the special Office of Easter Day is repeated daily throughout the Easter Octave, and the singing of "Alleluia" is restored. The Octave is also marked by a daily procession to the font at Vespers, in honour of those baptised at the Easter Vigil. However, the Office of Eastertide proper, which will last until Pentecost, does not begin until Low Sunday; on that day, too, the chief feature of the Eastertide liturgy begins, namely the singing of two Alleluias at Mass, the first one in place of the Gradual.

The seventy days are therefore made up of four rather different blocks of time, unified, however, by the onward sweep from Septuagesima Sunday to the high points of Easter Day and Low Sunday. In order to examine the new understanding of this season, we must turn to two kinds of material which depend on the liturgy but are not strictly part of it: Latin liturgical commentary, and vernacular Mass homilies. The two are closely related, the latter often serving to popularize the former.

b. Liturgical Commentary: The Wedding-Garment and Babylon.

To make overall sense of this new pattern, the liturgical commentators, from Amalarius of Metz in the ninth century to John Beleth († 1189) and Sicard of Cremona († c.1210), draw a close parallel between the seventy days of Septuagesima and the seventy years of the Jews' captivity in Babylon. In particular, they

point to its ending, when Cyrus formally released the Jews, in an action foreshadowing Christ's releasing of mankind from the power of the devil at Easter. This ending is explained, and therefore looked forward to, on Septuagesima Sunday. Sicard of Cremona, for example, says on this day:

> "*Rememorat enim ecclesia tempus* LXXta annorum, quibus Israel fuit sub servitute Babyloniorum...Cyrus, qui et Christus dictus est, regem Babylonicum subjugavit, populoque redeundi licentiam dedit." [14]

In his next homily, he goes on to make a link with the baptismal robe or "stola", restored at Easter:

> "Sicut illi in LXo anno per Cyrum a Babylonica servitute sunt liberati, sic nos in sexta aetate saeculi per Christum sumus a diaboli servitute redempti, nobisque reddita est innocentiae stola per remissionem baptismi." [15]

He no doubt has in mind the formula used in the Easter Vigil service at the giving of the baptismal robe:

> "Accipe vestem candidam sanctam et immaculatam quam perferas ante tribunal domini nostri ihesu christi ut habeas vitam eternam et vivas cum eo in seculo seculorum." [16]

On Low Sunday, when the Church rejoices with two Alleluia verses at Mass, then, says Sicard, "stola geminabitur", for now the exile is completely over: after Cyrus's release of the Jews, it took ten years for them all to reach their homeland, but now they have all *come home*.[17]

John Beleth, whose work was well-known in England and is quoted several times by Mirk,[18] parallels Sicard, but extends the

meaning of Septuagesima to cover the whole history of man in exile, from the expulsion of Adam to the end of the world. It is then that "utraque stola decorabimur, cum videlicet corpus et anima simul glorificabuntur".[19] Mirk puts this idea even more forcefully: Saturday "in albis" represents the day of doom, when body and soul will come together, and everyone will be clothed in white, seven times brighter than the sun.[20] This connects the end of Septuagesima not only with white robes but with the idea of the Last Judgement; as Beleth says, Eastertide, which follows, signifies "tempus illud quod futurum est post diem judicii".[21]

The commentators then proceed to connect the white robes of Easter with the wedding-garment of the parable. An explicit link between the end of the Babylonian captivity and the parable is made by Sicard later in his *Mitrale,* where he extends the imagery of the return-journey from exile into the season of Trinity-tide. He makes a bridge between the Gospel for Trinity 19, the healing of the paralytic, and the Wedding-Garment, which forms the Gospel for Trinity 20:

> "Transactis septuaginta annis, Cyrus populum abire permisit...sic noster Cyrus, ut in hodierno legitur evangelio, dixit paralytico: Surge, tolle lectum tuum et vade in domum tuam." [22]

Then, "*post reversionem* captivitate", God the Father makes a wedding-feast for his Son:

> "Multos ad prandium invitavit...filius est Christus, qui humanam naturam sibi copulavit...Christus sponsam assumet, et de Babylonia mundi in cellariam paradisi introducet...Cum enim intrasset homo non habens vestem nuptialem, ejectus est

in tenebras exteriores; ceteri nuptialem induti, sunt cum Domino copulati".[23]

The idea of wedding-feast and wedding-garment is perhaps implied in the Eastertide liturgy itself. In the Easter Vigil, immediately after the giving of the baptismal robe, the prayer at the giving of the candle recalls the wedding attended by the wise virgins:

> Accipe lampadem irreprehensibilem custodi baptismum tuum serva mandata. ut cum uenerit dominus ad nupcias possis ei occurrere una cum sanctis in aula celesti ut habeas uitam eternam et uiuas cum eo in secula seculorum.

This is then reinforced by the image of the banquet of the Lamb, which figures in the hymn at Vespers of Low Sunday:

> "Ad cenam Agni providi
> Et stolis albis candidi,
> Post transitum maris rubri
> Christo canamus principi." [24]

An even closer link is made between the parable of the Wedding-Garment and Easter robes in a twelfth-century English homily. Here, the Lord has prepared a feast to gladden us, "þat holie gestninge" of which he speaks in the words "Ecce prandium meum paratum". But first we must determine if we are worthy: "þe man hit understondeth wurthliche the cometh þerto on bicumeliche wise. and mid bicumeliche wede. and on bicumeliche time". The homily goes on to expand on "wede":

> "Bicumeliche wede ben tweire kinne. lichamliche and gostliche...alle hie bien faire him þe þe husel underfoþ. ac two þeroffe ben swich þat no man ne mai underfo him selven to hele bute he have here oþer on him. þe ben þus clepede.

> vestis innocencie. vestis misericordie. an is loþlesnesse. oþer sinbote. vestis innocencie restituitur in baptismo dicente sacerdote Accipe vestem candidam et immaculatam. loþlesnesse understondeþ þe man at his folcninge. and þat bitocneþ þe crisme cloþ. þe þe prest biwindeþ þat child mide."

Here, the garment is strongly linked to the idea of purity, "loþlesnesse", and, later in the homily, the preacher makes it clear that anyone receiving Communion without these spiritual garments will be cast out. Like the poet, he reproduces this part of the Biblical text fully and vividly:

> "[He] shal ben shameliche driven ut of þis holi gestninge. and bunden togedere his honden. and his fet. and worpen in to þe ateliche pit of helle bi ure drihtenes word þe seith to swiche men. Amice quomodo huc intrasti non habens vestem nupcialem..." [25]

Mirk, writing in the fourteenth century, echoes these themes more briefly:

> "[God] makythe þis day a gret passyng fest, and byddyþe all hys pepull therto, als wele hom þat ben in Heuen as þylke þat ben in erþe. þen as wele as hym schall be þat comythe to þys fest wele arayde in Godys lyvere, cloþyd in love and scharyte, *als evell schall hym be that comyþe yn fendys* lyvere, cloþyd in envy and dedly wrathe; for þes, as þe gospell tellyþe, schall be taken and cast into the prison of helle." [26]

Mirk parallels the poem in introducing the idea of the court of heaven into the parable: as we saw, the poet precedes his version of it with a description of God surrounded by his angels. The poet may also have got from this kind of homily his striking image of the man being cast "depe in my doungoun" (l. 158); both the "ateliche pit of helle" and the "prison of helle", sound

closer to his image than the Vulgate's "tenebras exteriores" (Matt.22:13).

In this material we see a linking-up of several themes that are worth pursuing in relation to *Cleanness*. In the poem, the author introduces his main sequence of narratives with the parable of the Wedding-Garment. This opening parable is given a kind of forward-looking slant by the poet's final prayer, which is that we may "gon gay in oure gere" (l. 1811) in the presence of God. Thus the wedding-feast, where we will wear our special garment, becomes the event we are working towards, the reward which we hope to obtain. The wedding-garment parable may then serve in the poem as a reminder of the white robes of Easter and Low Sunday, and of the Easter festival which God prepares as a wedding-feast for his Son. It urges the reader to think about keeping his baptismal robe unspotted, the more so as this robe also signifies our redeemed state beyond the Last Judgement, symbolized by the return from Babylon: as we saw, according to the commentators, we put on wedding-robes on returning from the Babylonian captivity. The significance of this for the place of Belshazzar's Feast in the poem will be considered later. For the moment, we can note that the image of the wedding-garment serves as a natural introduction to the linked themes of purity and judgement, with which the poem's narratives are all concerned.

c. The theme of Judgement.

The theme of Judgement is introduced right at the beginning of Septuagesima, in the Procession before Mass of Septuagesima Sunday:

> Ecce carissimi dies illa iudicii magna et terribilis instat. pretereunt dies nostri et velociter advenit preclarus adventus domini. iam crebro sono nos hortatur et dicit priusquam hostium paradysi claudatur unusquisque vestrum cito properet ut introiens in eternum cum domino regnans preparate vosmetipsos. vt videatis immortalem sponsum et possideatis regna celorum. [27]

This text was then given added emphasis by being repeated at both Sexagesima and Quinquagesima. Although the Day of Judgement is presented in it as "terribilis", it is also the prelude to beholding the eternal bridegroom. It thus looks forward to festivity and eternal reward, and establishes the two-layered character of Lent: repentance and purification on the one hand, preparing for a wedding-feast on the other.

The theme of repentance, however, does have its darker side: it not only helps to make a person more fit for salvation -- a vessel of election -- but turns away God's inevitable anger at sin, and thus helps a person to escape destruction. This means that God's destructive activity is one of the elements dwelt on by the liturgy. This is seen clearly in the Collect for Thursday after Ash Wednesday:

> Deus qui culpa offenderis. penitentia placaris. preces populi tui supplicantis propitius respice: et flagella tue iracundie que pro peccatis nostris mereamur averte.

The image of turning away the *flagella* or *flagellationes* of God also occurs in the prayer Super Populum of Thursday after Ash Wednesday and in the Collect for Saturday in the first week of Lent. The *flagella* of God expresses itself in the calamities that fall upon the human race, above all in untimely death. The first three weeks of the Septuagesima season are dominated by three such narratives: the Fall of Adam, Noah's Flood, and the Destruction of Sodom. They are explored in the readings and responds at Matins, as follows.

On Septuagesima Sunday, the medieval Church began at Matins *lectio continua* of the book of Genesis, starting with the long narrative of the seven days of Creation. In fact, it takes all week to bring the Creation-story to its end. However, the Matins responds and homilies for Septuagesima Sunday get ahead by concentrating on the creation and fall of Adam and Eve (cf. ll.235-248 of the poem).[28] Given the importance of the Matins responds, relative to the actual readings, it is the Fall that is thus thrown into relief. While the Scriptural readings work their way through the description of an unsullied creation, the responds telescope the story, and, in sad counterpoint, tell us *already of the tragic outcome.* As we saw when examining the Common of Virgins, the responds frequently give their own emphases to Scripture: the most interesting, in relation to the poem, is perhaps the repetition of the phrase "paradisus

voluptatis" (Gen.2:8; 2:15). It occurs first in the antiphon on the Magnificat at first Vespers of Septuagesima Sunday:

> Plantaverat Dominus Deus paradisum voluptatis a principio: in quo posuit hominem quem formaverat.

The two Biblical verses concerned are then juxtaposed in one of the Matins responds:

> R. Tulit ergo Dominus hominem et posuit eum in paradiso voluptatis. Ut operaretur et custodiret illum.
> V. Plantaverat Dominus Deus paradisum voluptatis a principio: in quo posuit hominem quem formaverat. R. Ut operaretur...

The effect is to stress the idea of paradisal bliss, which the poem takes up at several key points: the first men, for example, had "Alle þe blysse boute blame þat bodi myȝt haue" (l. 260), while God condemns Sodom for despising the "merþe" between a man and a woman, which is such that "Wel-nyȝe pure paradys moȝt preue no better" (l. 704).

Meanwhile, some of the homiletic readings for Septuagesima Sunday underline the outward beauty of Adam and Eve and its inner meaning. In the York rite, for example, an excerpt from a sermon of St. Augustine dwells on the creation of man in the image and likeness of God, and goes on: "Que imago diligentius exterioris hominis nobilitate est intuenda;" for, just as God vivifies everything, and in him we live and move and have our being,"sicut anima in suo corpore ubique tota viget: et vivificans illud movens et gubernans".[29] In the poem, the beauty of the first men

is heavily emphasised by the poet, and seems to be connected with their relatively undefiled state.

By Sexagesima, the reading of Genesis had reached the story of Noah. The tale of the Flood, unlike that of the Fall, is told both in the Scripture readings of Matins and in the responds. However, the story of Noah is a long one, and takes the entire week to get through. The responds therefore serve to concentrate *the story, retelling it in a sequence of highlights.* The sequences of responds vary somewhat from rite to rite, giving a different slant to the story in each case. In Sarum, for example, although the responds of Nocturn I describe the flood, there is a rapid move onto the positive aspects of the story in Nocturns II and III, describing the end of the flood and the covenant between God and man.[30] In York, on the other hand, the positive responds are mostly kept for use during the week, so *that the Sunday sequence dwells almost* entirely on destruction, at least in the first two Nocturns, building up an atmosphere which parallels the poem's handling of the tale:

R.1. Dixit Dominus ad Noe: finis universe carnis venit coram me. Repleta est terra iniquitate eorum: et ego disperdam eos cum terra.
V. Fac tibi archam de lignis lenigatis: mansiunculas in ea facies. R. Repleta est terra...

R.2. Quadraginta dies et noctes aperti sunt celi: et ex omne carne habente spiritum vite. Ingressi sunt in archam: e clausit a foris ostium dominus.
V. Noe vero et uxor ejus filii ejus uxores filiorum ejus. R. Ingressi sunt...

R.3. Facta diluvio super terram quadraginta diebus multiplicate sunt aque. Et elevaverunt archam in sublime a terra.
V. Vehementer inundaverunt aque et repleverunt omnia in superficie terre. R. Et elevaverunt...

R.4. Archa ferebatur super aquas: et aqua nimium prevalente. Operti sunt montes excelsi sub universo celo.
V. Aqua cubitis quindecim supergrediente montes quos operuerat. R. Operti sunt montes...
R.5. Deletis cunctis substantiis super terram. Remansit solus noe et qui cum eo erant in archa.
V. Consumpta ero omni carne et omnibus in quibus erat spiraculum vite. R. Remansit...
R.6. Peractis centum quinquaginta diebus dominus aquas imminuit. Fontes abyssi et catharactas celi clausit pluviasque de celo cessare fecit.
V. Recordatus dominus noe et eorum qui erant cum eo. R. Fontes abyssi... [31]

This sequence ends with the closing of the flood-gates, and in the poem, too, the flood does come to an end, with God establishing a covenant with the survivors. The poem's sombre mood is underlined, however, by its curious omission of any mention of the rainbow, the colourful and hopeful sign of that covenant; in this it perhaps parallels, consciously or otherwise, York's curious relegation of the rainbow to the weekday responds.

Sexagesima week is meant to continue the story of Noah "usque ad Abraham", thus linking these two great figures.[32] A bridge between the poem's first two narratives of destruction is in fact provided by the Mass Gospel for the Friday of Sexagesima week, Luke 17:20-37,[33] where the days of Noah and the days of Lot are compared to the last days, when Christ will come in judgement:

> Et sicut factum est in diebus Noe, ita erit et in diebus Filii hominis. Edebant et bibebant: uxores ducebant et dabantur ad nuptias, usque in diem, qua intravit Noe in arcam: et venit diluvium, et perdidit omnes. Similiter fuit in diebus Lot: Edebant et bibebant, emebant et vendebant, plantabant et aedificabant: qua die autem exiit Lot a Sodomis, pluit ignem, et sulphur de caelo, et omnes perdidit:

> secundum haec erit qua die Filius hominis revelabitur. (Luke 17:26-30)

The liturgy is thus already not only leading our minds onto the story of Sodom, but also preparing us for a narrative of the last days; and, as we have seen, liturgical commentary saw final judgement symbolised in the return from Babylon. The destruction of Belshazzar, who was indeed eating, drinking, and disporting himself with women up to the last moment, would thus perhaps suggest itself to the poet as a very natural choice for his third narrative of destruction.

First, however, the poet introduces us to Abraham, in the exquisite serenity of the scene at the oak of Mamre. In the liturgy too, this is where we first encounter him, in the Antiphon on the Magnificat at first Vespers of Quinquagesima:

> Dum staret Abraham ad radicem Mambre, vidit tres pueros descendentes per viam: tres vidit et unum adoravit.

This is of interest, given that the Bible has plenty to say about Abraham before he gets to this point, when he is already ninety years old. Indeed, the Matins readings, having begun at the very beginning of Abraham's story, cover his departure from Canaan, his journey to Egypt, the battle with the four kings of the plain, and the encounter with Melchisedech, all of which happen before the incident at Mamre. Despite the rubric "Legantur lectiones de Abraham...usque ad Senuit Isaac",[34] it is not clear whether, even by the end of the week, most rites would have got

as far as Mamre and Sodom in the course of the actual readings, although the Worcester portiforium (of the Hereford rite) obviously does.[35] However, the responds at Sunday Matins again get ahead with the story, pinpointing key-moments in Abraham's life; in particular, a sequence of four responds, out of the total nine, describe the destruction of Sodom. Surprisingly, the sacrifice of Isaac, perhaps the most important episode in Abraham's life from the point of view of Christian commentary, is for the most part relegated to the week-day responds. The Sunday responds retell the story of Sodom in the same kind of vivid shorthand that we saw used for Noah's Flood:

R.5: Dum staret Abraham ad radicem Mambre: vidit tres pueros descendentes per viam. Tres vidit et unum adoravit.
V. Cunque vidisset eos, cucurrit in occursum illorum adorans Dominum. R. Tres vidit...

R.6: Clamor, inquit Dominus, Sodomorum et Gomorrae venit ad me. Descendam et videbo utrum clamorem opere compleverint.
V. Abraham stabat coram Deo et ait; absit ad te, Domine, ut perdas justum cum impio. R. Descendam....

R.7: Ait autem Abraham ad Dominum, obsecro, Domine mi, non deleas omnem locum propter justos decem. Respondit Dominus Deus: non delebo propter decem.
V. Ne quaeso Domine irascaris si loquar semel, quid facies si inventi fuerint decem. R. Repondit Dominus...

R.8: Ascendens ergo Deus ab Abraham pluit ignem et sulphur super Sodomam. Abraham mane consurgens stetit, et eversas urbes a longe conspexit.
V. Recordatus est Deus Abraham: et liberavit Loth de subversione Sodomae. R. Abraham mane... [36]

The Quinquagesima responds in all the rites present a similar sequence, if not in exactly the same place: in Hereford and in York, for example, the corresponding responds are numbered 2,6,7

and 8. The first York respond, however, expands on Abraham's hospitality:

> R.2. Apparuerunt tres viri abrahe ad ilicem mambre: et dixit ad eos: domine si inveni gratiam in oculis vestris. Transite et resquiescite in loco isto.
> V. Afferam paxillum aque ut laventur pedes vestri. [37]

Another variation on this particular respond occurs in the Benedictine rite of Chertsey Abbey, where the versicle reads:

> Tunc quippe vidit abraham diem domini cum in figura summe trinitatis tres angelos hospicio suscepit.[38]

Naturally, the responds retell an incident in an extremely compact way, dwelling only on the essentials. However, where a series of responds all deal with the same incident, they can outline the whole narrative, however briefly. It is significant that in all these rites the sequence of responds describing the visit of the angels and the destruction of Sodom occurs on the Sunday, the most important day of the week, and that the story is thus linked with Abraham from the moment he makes his appearance in the liturgical scheme of readings.

Further, the Trinitarian interpretation of the angels at the oak of Mamre, not found in the Old Testament itself but added on later by Christian tradition, is expressed in both the liturgy and the poem. As we saw, in the liturgy Abraham is introduced at first Vespers of Quinquagesima with the words, "Dum staret Abraham ad radicem Mambre, vidit tres pueros descendentes per viam: tres vidit et unum adoravit." This finds an echo in

the poem's, "And as to God þe goodmon gos hem agaynez, / And haylsed hem in onhede" (ll. 611-12). The Bible, however, has no mention of the unity of the three visitors at this point:

> Cumque elevasset oculos, apparuerunt ei tres viri stantes prope eum: quos cum vidisset, cucurrit in occursum eorum de ostio tabernaculi, et adoravit in terram. (Gen. 18:2.)

Abraham does, of course, go on to address the three men collectively as "Domine", a textual detail which gave rise to the whole Christian interpretation of this passage in the first place. Nevertheless, the poem's variation from the Biblical text here is interesting, as, throughout the rest of the episode, it follows the Bible closely, right down to the butter and milk mentioned in the meal (ll. 636-37; Gen. 18:8). What the poet adds are the gracious details of the white cloth, and Abraham standing "al hodlez, with armez vpfolden" (ll. 634, 643).

In the presentation of Noah, Abraham and the destruction of Sodom, then, the poet would have been drawing on material familiar to his audience through the readings of the first few weeks of Septuagesima, and probably intimately associated in their minds with the overall themes of the season.

The theme of God's imposition of disasters, and their avoidance through acknowledgement of sin and a renewal of faith, is also illustrated in many of the Mass readings during the rest of Lent. The first lesson for Thursday after Ash Wednesday, for instance, contains the story of Hezekiah (Isa. 38:1-6). God

decrees his death: "Dispone domui tue. quia morieris tu et non vives." Hezekiah, however, pleads with God, shedding many tears: "Et flevit ezechias fletu magno." And it is the tears that move God, who responds: "Audivi orationem tuam. et vidi lacrymas tuas." He proceeds to grant the king another fifteen years of life and to save him from the Assyrians. Another powerful illustration of the theme occurs on Tuesday of the fourth week in Lent, when the first lesson concerns Israel's worship of the golden calf (Ex. 32:7-14). The Israelites, at a crucial point in their wanderings in the desert, have turned away from God and worshipped an idol; but Moses prays for mercy, and God, "placatus", spares them. One of the readings from the book of Daniel also centres on Daniel's intercession for the people, by which God's wrath is turned away: "Avertatur obsecro ira tua et furor tuus a civitate tua ierusalem..." (Dan. 9:15-19, lesson for Monday of Lent II). All these ancient stories are given a present urgency by the epistle for the first Sunday of Lent: "Ne in vacuum gratiam dei recipiatis...Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis."

Many of the readings from the prophets concentrate on forcing the Israelites to acknowledge their sins. The Israelites feel secure in their relationship to God because they have scrupulously offered sacrifice, but they have neglected justice (e.g. Isa. 58:1-9, Friday after Ash Wednesday). The basic message is that each man's salvation depends on his own actions, and he must turn from his ways in order to live, otherwise he

will die in his sins. This comes out in the readings for Thursday and Friday of Lent I (Ezech. 18:1-9 and 20-28) and for Thursday of Lent II (Jer. 17:5-10), and is supported by many of the Gospel readings. On Monday of Lent II, for example, the reading from Daniel is followed by John 8:21-29, which ends: "Dixi ergo vobis quia moriemini in peccatis vestris. Si enim non credideritis quia ego sum moriemini in peccato vestro." Several of the gospel readings concern the great parables of judgement: the sheep and the goats (Matt. 25:31-46, Monday of Lent I); the tenants of the vineyard (Matt.21:33-46, Friday of Lent II); in the Franciscan and Roman rites only, Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31, Thursday of Lent II). Moreover, Christ himself is portrayed as an avenging judge in the driving of the money-changers from the Temple, which occurs twice (Matt. 21:10-17, Tuesday of Lent I; John 2:13-25, Monday of Lent IV). This material contrasts with that of Advent, the other penitential season of the Church; despite its strong eschatological slant, Advent dwells more on the promise of renewal. [39]

The theme of judgement, then, is clearly an important one in the season of Septuagesima. In particular, the Old Testament readings, including those in which Hezekiah, Moses and Daniel turn away the wrath of God, reflect the emphases that we find in *Cleanness*: the wrath of God brings death and destruction, as the poem shows through the Flood and the destruction of Sodom; but a just man can be saved, as shown in the persons of Noah and Lot,

and in Abraham's intercessory dialogue with the angel. It is worth, therefore, giving oneself to the work of purification, in order to make oneself acceptable to God.

d. The theme of Purification.

Purification is established as the purpose of the Lenten fast by the Collect for the First Sunday of Lent:

> Deus qui ecclesiam tuam annua quadragesimali observatione purificas: presta familie tue. ut quod a te obtinere abstinendo nititur. hoc bonis operibus exsequatur.

We see here Lent presented as a season when God purifies the Church, and men cooperate with this activity by abstinence and good works. The verb *purificare* appears again and again in the prayers for Lent, along with *purgere, emundare, mundare* and their related nouns and adjectives. The following is a fairly complete, though not exhaustive, list:

Quinquagesima:		Secret.
Friday after Ash Wednesday:		Super Populum.
Lent I,	Sunday:	Collect.
	Monday:	Secret.
	Wednesday:	Post Communion.
	Thursday:	Secret.
	Friday:	Post Communion.
Lent II,	Sunday:	Collect.
	Monday:	Post Communion.
	Tuesday:	Secret.
	Wednesday:	Super Populum.
	Friday:	Collect.
	Saturday:	Collect.
Lent III,	Sunday:	Secret.
	Monday:	Post Communion.
Lent IV,	Tuesday:	Secret and Post Communion.

	Wednesday:	Secret.
	Thursday:	Secret.
Passion Week,	Tuesday:	Post Communion.
	Thursday:	Post Communion.
	Saturday:	Post Communion.
Palm Sunday:		Post Communion.

Although Secret prayers, in particular, often contain a request for purity and are found elsewhere in the Church's year, the frequency of the theme in Septuagesima is still striking. Further, four Collects have this theme, including those for the Sundays of both Lent I and Lent II, compared to only three other Collects during the whole of the rest of the year.

This purification is seen to involve both body and soul: "Haec hostia quesumus domine emundet nostra delicta. et ad sacrificium celebrandum subditorum tibi corpora mentesque sanctificet." (Secret for Quinquagesima, Lent III, and Tuesday of Lent IV.) It also implies cleansing not just from the disposition to sin, but from actual offences: "Haec nos communio domine purget a crimine: et celestis remedii faciat esse consortes." (Post-communion, Monday of Lent II.) The role of the body in obtaining this purification is particularly expressed through prayers relating to the Lenten fast: "Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut sacro nos purificante ieiunio sinceris mentibus ad sancta ventura facias pervenire." (Collect, Friday of Lent II.) Moreover, purity, if we include it in the idea of innocence, can be seen as the goal desired for us by God: "Deus innocentiae restitutor et amator dirige ad te tuorum corda servorum..." (Super Populum, Wednesday of Lent II.)

The themes of the prayers are reinforced by many of the Scripture readings in Lent, and it is here that we find many of the distinctive emphases of *Cleanness*. One of the most striking of these includes the image of men as vessels, used so extensively in the poem:

> ...Hec est enim voluntas dei sanctificatio vestra: ut abstineatis vos a fornicatione. ut sciat unusquisque vestrum vas possidere in sanctificatione et honore. non in passione desiderii: sicut et gentes que ignorant deum...Non enim vocavit nos deus in immunditiam: sed in sanctificatione. (From I Thess. 4:1-7, epistle for Sunday of Lent II.)

The vessel symbolism is perhaps reinforced by Old Testament readings concerning the miraculous jar, *vas*, of the widow of Sarepta (3 Kings 17:8-16, Tuesday of Lent II, and 4 Kings 4:1-7, Tuesday of Lent III), while the theme of fornication is continued in the epistle for the third Sunday of Lent. Here a link is made between fornication and the worship of idols, a connection made strongly in the Belshazzar section of the poem:

> Fornicatio autem et omnis immundicia aut avaritia. nec nominetur in vobis... omnis fornicator aut immundus aut avarus quod est ydolorum servitus non habet hereditatem in regno christi et dei. (From Ephes. 5:1-9.)

Pollution -- fornication -- comes from within a man, not without:

> De corde enim exeunt cogitationes male. homicidia. adulteria. fornicationes. furta. falsa testimonia blasphemie. Hec sunt qui coinquinant hominem. (From Matt. 15:1-20, Wednesday of Lent III.)

The idea of purification is also found in readings to do with cleansing, as in the healing of Naaman the leper (4 Kings

5:1-15, Monday of Lent III): "Vade et lavare septies in iordane: et recipies sanitatem caro tua et mundaberis." The message is reinforced by the Gospel for that day, Luke 4:23-30: "Multi leprosi erant in ysrael sub helyseo propheta et nemo eorum mundatus est nisi naaman syrus." The idea of cleansing is found also in Ezech. 36:23-28 (Wednesday of Lent IV): "Effundam super vos aquam mundam et mundabimini ab omnibus iniquamentis vestris. ab universis ydolis vestris mundabo vos." The second reading for that day, Isa. 1:16-19, has the same theme.

Many of the Matins homilies reinforce the emphasis on purification, stressing that the forty days of the fast provide an opportunity for embarking on this work. In particular, the homilies introduce an idea crucial to the whole argument of the poem: the intimate connection between body and soul. At Sexagesima, in the Sarum rite, the excerpt from John Chrysostom's sermon on the Fall contains the following:

> Animi vicia corporis maerore monstrentur. Si vexatus est animus, lugeat corpus: quoniam quotiens corpus in causa est, animus maesticia condolescit. Certe quale est corporis vicia sine animi compassione esse non posse: tale est animi vicia corporis compassione privari. Pariter contristentur, ut pariter veniam consequantur. Quoniam utrosque simul aut beneficio foveri, aut injuria vexari necesse est. Nec enim aliud est homo quam corporis animique concretio. [39]

This connection of soul and body is illustrated, in the York rite, by the idea of inner and outer adornment:

> Si enim rationale et quodammodo religiosum videtur per diem festum in vestitu nitidiore prodire et habitu corporali hylaritatem mentis ostendere. Si ipsam quoque orationis domum propensiore tunc cura: et ampliore cultu quantum possumus

> adornamus: nonne dignum est ut anima christiana que verum vivumque dei templum est speciem suam prudenter exornet: et redemptionis sue celebrature sacramentum omni circunspectione precaveat: ne ulla eam macula iniquitatis obfuscet. Nam quid prodest honestatis formam preferens cultus exterior: si interior hominis aliquorum sordeant contaminatione vitiorum? Omnia igitur que animi puritatem et speculum mentis obnubilant: abstergenda sedulo et quadam eliminatione radenda sunt. [40]

Here we have the main emphasis of the poem: making oneself "for a halyday honestly arayed" (l. 134), with a clothing that expresses one's inner purity. This particular homily comes during the first week of Lent, which meditates in part on the significance of Ash Wednesday. Preparing to put on the clean garments of the Easter feast involves an opposing image: the putting on of sackcloth and ashes on Ash Wednesday, as an outward sign of inner penitence and of embarking on the work of purification.

The focal ceremony on Ash Wednesday, with which the Lenten fast begins, is the blessing of ashes and their imposition on the brows of the faithful. Several of the prayers and antiphons refer to the Biblical example of the Ninevites, who at the preaching of Jonah repented, and marked their repentance by putting on sackcloth and throwing ashes on their heads. Consequently, although only ashes figure in the Church's ceremony, some of the prayers refer to putting off one's ordinary clothing and putting on sackcloth. Thus, in the antiphon sung during the Imposition of Ashes one finds:

> Immutemur habitu in cinere et cilicio et ieiunemus et ploramus ante dominum. quia multum misericors est dimmitere peccata nostra deus noster.

Similar words occur in the Franciscan (Roman) rite, in the fourth collect at the Blessing of Ashes:

> Omnipotens sempiterne deus. qui ninevitis in cinere et cilicio penitentibus. indulgentie tue remedia prestitisti: concede propitius ut sic eos imitemur habitu. quatenus venie prosequamur obtentu. [41]

The Sarum rite, in its long prayer at the Blessing of Ashes, makes a link between putting on ashes and purification. The central clause reads:

> ...benedicere et sanctificare hos cineres dignare. quos causa humilitatis et sancte religionis ad emundanda delicta nostra more ninevitarum ferre constituisti...

The Ash Wednesday readings then take up the theme of garments and outward appearances. The first reading is from Joel 2:12-19, and begins:

> Haec dicit dominus: Convertamini ad me in toto corde vestro in ieiunio et in fletu et in planctu. et scindite corda vestra et non vestimenta vestra. et convertamini ad dominum deum vestrum...

This particular passage is then repeated throughout Lent as the daily chapter at Lauds, thus giving it particular prominence. The Gospel takes up the theme of outer appearance and relates it to hypocrisy:

> Cum ieiunatis noli fieri sicut hypocrite tristes. Exterminant enim facies suas ut appareant hominibus ieiunantes...Tu autem cum ieiunas unge caput tuum et faciem tuam lava...(Matt. 6:16-21).

This matter of appearances is discussed in some of the homilies used at Matins on Ash Wednesday, commenting on the above Gospel. While Sarum has extracts from Augustine's Homily 47, on just works, and York and Hereford have no homily at all, the Benedictine houses of Hyde and Chertsey have extracts from St. Augustine's *On the Sermon on the Mount*, Bk.2, ch.12. This homily begins by stressing the search for inward joys as opposed to outer rewards:

> Manifestum est hiis preceptis omnem nostram intencionem in interiora gaudia dirigi: ne foris querentes mercedem huic seculo conformemur: et amittamus promissionem tanto solidioris atque firmioris. quanto interioris beatudinis: qua nos elegit deus conformes fieri ymaginis filii sui. [42]

Some of the words here -- "amittamus promissionem tanto solidioris..." -- perhaps find an echo in the poet's "Man may mysse the mirthe that much is to prayse..." (1.189). The homily then goes on to point out that affecting a squalid and miserable appearance in order to appear to be fasting is as ostentatious as undue splendour and pomp:

> In hoc autem capitulo maxime animadvertendum est: ne in solo rerum corporearum nitore atque pompa. Sed et in ipsis sordibus luctuosis esse posse iactantiam: et eo periculosiorem quo sub nomine servitutis dei decipit.

Chertsey and Hyde quote the homily thus far. Bearing in mind the variations in the Matins homilies from one breviary to another, other books might have had longer excerpts, as in the emended texts of the Council of Trent, where the homily reiterates the

point that the Christian who fixes the eyes of men upon himself by unusual squalor and filth does so from a sort of ambition. Thus, unnecessary squalor is seen to have an insolent quality about it, and this perhaps links up with the offensive disrespect of which the poem accuses the ill-dressed wedding-guest. It is, after all, the poet who presents him, so graphically, as dressed in rags; the Bible says merely that the man did not have on a wedding garment. It is possible that some of the Ash Wednesday ideas may have combined with the wedding-garment theme in the poet's mind, to provide his distinctively detailed and vivid retelling of the parable.

The element of penance -- of preparing oneself to put on festive robes by the wearing of an "anti-robe" of sackcloth -- reflects the interpretation of the Lenten fast, and of asceticism in general, as a kind of bitter medicine: unpleasant in itself, but of value because it results in cleanliness and health. The theme of purification is therefore closely allied to the theme of healing.

e. The theme of healing.

The Nativity section of the poem, which deals also with Christ's adult ministry on earth (ll. 1065-1108), stresses the idea of healing: however disfigured by the filth of disease, the

sick could approach the Saviour and be made clean by his touch (ll. 1093-1108). This passage leads into a discussion of the equivalent means of approach to Christ's cleansing grace for those who live after his earthly ministry: sacramental confession (ll. 1109-1148). In the liturgy for Lent we find a stress both on healing and on acknowledgement of sin.

The theme of healing emerges from the outset, being presented as concomitant to the process of purification. The beginning of the Ash Wednesday ceremony in the Franciscan (Roman) rite has, "Domine clamavi ad te et sanasti me," while the first collect at the Blessing of Ashes in Hereford asks that these may be "remedium salubre omnibus nomen sanctum tuum humiliter implorantibus" and that through the ashes the faithful may receive "corporis sanitatem et anime tutelam". Another Ash Wednesday collect, found both in Hereford and Sarum, has, "...nec sit ab his famulis tuis clementie tue longinqua miseratio: sana vulnera, eorumque remitte peccata..."[43]

The key words *remedium*, *medela*, *medecinalis*, *sanare*, *mederi*, occur in several other prayers, for example:

Lent I, Thursday:	Secret.
Lent II, Thursday:	Super Populum.
Lent IV, Wednesday:	Secret.
Passion Week, Thursday:	Collect and Post Communion.

One of the above prayers makes an explicit link betwen health and purification (Secret, Wednesday of Lent IV):

> Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus ut his sacrificiis peccata nostra mundentur quia tunc veram nobis tribuis et mentis et corporis sanitatem.

Moreover, the Lenten fast itself is seen as a healing process:

> Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut dignitas conditionis humane per immoderantiam sautiata medicinalis parsimonie studio reformatur. (Collect, Thursday of Passion Week)

However, it is chiefly the readings in Lent which bring out the theme of healing. The healing miracles of Christ occur frequently as the Gospel at Mass, while healing stories from the Old Testament may occur in place of the epistle:

Quinquagesima.
- Sunday: the blind man at Jericho (Luke 18:31-43).
- Thursday: the centurion's servant (Matt.8:5-13).
- Saturday: Mark 6:47-56 (Jesus walking on the water), ends with a general description of healing activity.

Lent I.
- Thursday, Franciscan/Roman rite only: the Syrophenician woman (Matt.15:21-28).
- Friday: healing at the pool of Bethesda (John 5:1-15).

Lent III.
- Sunday: healing of dumb man (Luke 11:14-28).
- Monday: Elisha's healing of Naaman (4 Kings 5:1-15).
- Thursday: Franciscan/Roman rite only: Peter's mother-in-law (Luke 4:38-44).

Lent IV.
- Wednesday: the man blind from birth (John 9: 1-38).
- Thursday: Elisha's raising of the Sunamite's son (4 Kings 4:25-38); followed, in the Franciscan/Roman rite only,by Christ's raising of the widow of Nain's son (Luke 7:11-16).
- Friday: Elijah's raising of the widow of Sarepta's son (3 Kings 17:17-24).
  Christ's raising of Lazarus (John 11:1-45).

Many of these readings consist of substantial narratives, going well beyond the average length of Mass readings. The tense,

dramatic nature of these stories must have given them even further impact. This applies in particular to the healing of Naaman, the man blind from birth, and the four stories of raising people from the dead.

Again, it is chiefly the readings which bring out the necessity of acknowledgement and repentance of sin, if God's healing grace is to be experienced. The most striking of these are:

> Friday of Lent I, Ezek. 18:20-28: "...Si autem impius egerit penitentiam ab omnibus peccatis suis que operatus est.....vita vivet et non morietur."
> Monday of Lent II, Daniel 9:15-19: "...peccavimus. iniquitatem fecimus domine..."
> Saturday of Lent II, Luke 15: 11-32): The Prodigal Son.
> Tuesday of Lent III, Matt.18:15-22: the giving to Peter of the ministry of loosing and binding - the Scriptural basis for sacramental Confession.
> Monday of Passion Week, Jonah 3:1-10: the repentance of the Ninevites in sackcloth and ashes.

The need for sorrow for sin is also neatly summed up in one of the prayers:

> Deus qui sperantibus in te misereri potius elegis quam irasci. da nobis digne flere mala que fecimus: ut tue consolationis gratiam invenire valeamus.

In the poem, the section on penitence and being made clean through Confession ends in a warning: the cleansed soul which falls back into sin is far more displeasing to God than the soul which has not been made clean at all (ll. 1133-1148). This

warning leads into the final section of the poem, the narrative of Belshazzar's feast.

f. Belshazzar's Feast.

So far, the liturgy, supplemented by liturgical commentary, has provided rich and suggestive parallels to the material found in the poem. When we come to Belshazzar's feast, however, we come up against a difficulty: this episode does not occur in the Septuagesima scheme of readings. In fact, its only liturgical use appears to be in the Benedictine Office, when the book of Daniel is read at Matins during November, towards the end of the Church's year. It is doubtful whether this position gives the reading much significance. Neither is Belshazzar's feast mentioned specifically in liturgical commentary. In this section, therefore, we will be looking at thematic connections between Belshazzar's feast and the other material under consideration, connections that are implied rather than explicit.

As we have seen, in liturgical commentary the seventy days from Septuagesima to Low Sunday were held to represent the seventy years of the Babylonian captivity. Belshazzar's feast is an episode set within the Captivity, and thus has an implied connection with the Septuagesima season. Further, it is an episode of some significance: although Belshazzar's death is not the last event in the Babylonian exile, it effectively marks its

end, as at that moment the power of Babylon was broken, and the fate of the Jews passed into the hands of the far more sympathetic Mede conquerors, Darius and Cyrus. In the poem, Belshazzar's feast brings the work to a close, and is also the third in a sequence of three major episodes on the judgement of God. We saw that Beleth and Mirk associate the end of the Babylonian Captivity with the end of the world and the final Judgement. If this association was present in the mind of the poet and his audience, then Belshazzar's Feast, rather than being simply a third Old Testament narrative tacked on as an afterthought, enables the poem to build up its message of Judgement in a steady crescendo.

The poet's warning, which introduces this section of the poem, is also found in the commentators. Sicard, for instance, concludes his remarks on putting on the wedding-garment, after the return from Babylon, with a warning against falling back into captivity: "Ne igitur ad captivitatem similem revertamur et a nuptiis excludamur, monet nos Paulus in epistola..."[44] The liturgy itself makes this point, in one of the prayers of Easter Week in the York rite:

> Deus, qui credentes in te fonte baptismatis innovasti, hanc renatis in Christo concede custodiam: ut nullo erroris impulsu gratiam tuae benedictionis amittant. [45]

In some of the homilies at Matins we find a similar idea. For example, in the Sarum rite, part of St. Augustine's Homily 41 is appointed for Tuesday of Lent I:

> ...Poenitentiam agis, genu figis: et irrides, et subsannas patientiam Dei. Si poenitens es, poenitet te...Qui nondum accepit baptismum, nondum violavit sacramentum. Qui autem violavit sacramentum male et perdite vivendo, et ideo remotus est ab altari ne judicium sibi manducet et bibat: vitam mutet, corrigat se, et reconcilietur dum vivit, dum sanus est...[46]

The warnings against not taking God's grace lightly are thus linked with baptism, and through baptism, there is perhaps an implied link with keeping one's baptismal robe, one's wedding-garment, unspotted.

This section of the poem is further connected to the themes of Septuagesima through the figure of Daniel. Five readings from the book of Daniel occur in Lent:

> Saturday of Lent I (fifth O.T. reading of Ember Saturday), Dan. 3:49-88: the three children in the furnace followed by their canticle, the Benedicite.
> Monday of Lent II, Dan. 9:15-19: Prayer for God's mercy on the captive people of Israel.
> Saturday of Lent III, Dan. 13:1-16: Susana and the elders.
> Tuesday of Passion Week, Dan. 14:28-42: Daniel in the lion's den.
> Thursday of Passion Week, Dan. 3:34-45: Prayer for captive Israel.

These five readings make Daniel, along with Elijah and Elisha and, in the two weeks of Passiontide, Jeremiah, one of the dominant Old Testament figures in Lent. The readings occur in strategic positions: the first on Ember Saturday, itself a day of special fasting and prayer; one on the eve of Mid-Lent Sunday, marking the end of the first half of the Lenten fast; two in Passiontide, the two weeks of intensive preparation for Easter.

Their themes link them to much of the material considered in previous sections. The two passages where Daniel intercedes for Israel to God centre on acknowledgement of the people's sins (particularly in the first) and on a plea to God to respond to their humility, as in captivity they cannot offer sacrifice (particularly in the second). These two intercessory prayers are particularly important in the way they link Daniel to the theme of Confession. St. Augustine, In ch.1 of *De Urbis Excidio*, asks:

> Quis ergo est qui se sine peccato esse profiteatur, cum Daniel peccata propria confitetur? Nam superbo cuidam dictum est per Ezechielem prophetam: Numquid tu sapientior quam Daniel (Ez.28:3)?

The point about Daniel, says Augustine, is that along with Job and Noah, he represents (in Ez.14:14) the three kinds of human beings who are to be saved: the celibate (Daniel), prelates i.e. "steersmen" of the Church (Noah), and the married "juste et bene viventes" (Job). Daniel is, therefore, highly "commendatus" and yet he confesses his sins; who then, asks Augustine, can glory in his own chastity of heart, or believe himself free from sin?[47]

Daniel is not only important as a model with regard to Confession, but, as the above passage shows, as a type of chastity. This of course ties him firmly into the purity theme of the poem. Once again, Augustine develops this aspect of Daniel in his *Enarratio in Psalmum 132*, where he considers the name Daniel not under its usual etymology of "judgement of God",

but as "vir desideriorum", showing how Daniel is not misled by his desires:

> Daniel autem vitam quietam eligit, in caelibatu servire Deo, id est, uxorem non quaerens. Erat vir sanctus, in desideriis coelestibus vitam gerens; tentatus in multis, et inventus aurum obrizum. ...Ergo in nomine Danielis, qui etiam vir desideriorum est appellatus (Dan.10:11), sed utique castorum atque sanctorum, significantur servi Dei...[48]

Here a special link is established between Daniel and the "servi Dei": the clergy, particularly monastic clergy. As mentioned above, these may have formed the poem's audience. This view of Daniel was generalized by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*, who refers to the "otium sanctum" of monastic life:

> Daniel, qui vitam caelibem tenuit, similitudinem habuit continentia sua eorum qui sunt in otio sancto, et terrenis copiis non abutuntur.[49]

The story of Belshazzar's feast, although not one of the five Lent readings from Daniel, has overtones which make it particularly suitable as a link between the figure of Daniel, the themes of Lent, and the poet's particular message. It too is a story of judgement, opposing a Daniel purified by celibacy and acknowledgement of sin to a king who embodies the reverse of all these Lenten qualities.

4. Conclusion: The effect of the liturgy on the poem.

When W. A. Davenport describes the framework of *Cleanness* as consisting of "intermittent assertions of God's hatred of human impurity",[60] he is probably voicing the frustration and lack of sympathy felt by many modern readers when faced with such a topic. It is indeed the poem's framework that seems to give the work its problematic nature: the individual episodes in the poem are told with a narrative brilliance that by themselves would place this work on a par with the other three in the MS. It is the framework, therefore, that any fresh appraisal of the poem must seek to make more coherent and more attractive, or at least accessible. If necessary, this coherence may be brought out by looking to sources outside the poem, as has been done here by examining the Septuagesima liturgy.

In the preceding sections we have seen that the poet's two dominant themes, of purity and judgement, are also the two dominant themes of the Septuagesima season. We have also seen how a great deal, perhaps most, of his material may also have been suggested to him by Scriptural readings and liturgical commentary belonging to this same season.

Of course, it is not suggested that the poet has merely reproduced this material. In the creative process, he has welded it together and made of it something new, with its own

distinctive emphases. In particular, he has introduced the imagery of garments into the framing argument as a strong connective thread, an image which allows him to keep before us the more celebratory undertow of the poem, as well as its more sombre surface layer. This does not prevent other images in the poem from also setting up echoes across the different episodes, and therefore helping to bind the poem together: Charlotte Morse, for example, explores the theme of judgement in the poem through the image of vessels, which includes the sailing-vessel of the Ark as well as the Temple vessels of the Belshazzar episode. The garment-image, however, being the one with which the poet so vividly embarks on the whole work, seems to me to take priority, and, as already stated, to have happy as well as unhappy overtones.

The liturgical season of Septuagesima would not only have provided the poet with a source for his ideas; it would have given the poem relevance for his medieval audience. That is, it would have given it an urgent and serious purpose, that of exhorting the audience to repentance and purification in preparation for Easter. This hortatory purpose is underlined by the poem's sermon-like structure, [51] which involves, as we have seen, the unfolding of a sustained argument, rather than the telling of one story, as in *Gawain*. Easter, the central feast of the Church's year, was the occasion when all the faithful were expected to participate in the Eucharist and receive Communion. The work of purification is therefore a preparation for a

festival banquet, and for sacramental contact with God: the nearest liturgical equivalent to the vision of God promised to the pure in heart, which is the reward emphasised throughout the poem. This exhortation, and this reward, would perhaps speak all the more powerfully to monastic clergy, whose whole life was deemed to involve keeping themselves unspotted from the world, and which found its raison d'être in the contemplation of God.

Further, monastic or regular clergy would have been particularly familiar with the liturgy. The suggestion that the poet's combination of material would have been less unexpected for them than it is for us, while applying to a *medieval audience* in general, would have added force in their case. The advantage of this familiarity with the poem's raw material is that it would allow the audience to concentrate more easily on the argument, and to be more aware, as suggested earlier, of the positive undertow of the poem. As already suggested too, a restricted community of men might also be a suitable target for a diatribe on sodomy, not the most common topic for a Middle English poem.

The poem, then, would have been seen in the context of preparation for a great feast, a time of celebration like that depicted in the parable of the wedding-garment. It is possible that the baptismal significance of Easter was marked then, as it has been in more recent times, by the tradition of wearing something new on Easter Sunday: it was certainly expected that people would dress in clean clothes, as several Mass homilies

imply. This would gather up the garment imagery, emphasise the party atmosphere, and give added point to the final remark about going "gay in oure gere" in God's service.

The poem's framing argument would thus be more rounded, and more positive, than at first appears. This in turn must affect our reading of the whole poem, rendering it better-structured, more relevant to its original audience, and altogether more cheerful in its general purport, than its *modern readers* commonly hold it to be.

CONCLUSION.

Part I of this thesis attempted to provide an overview of the liturgy, in the hope of drawing attention to some of its elements that Middle English scholars have so far overlooked. Part II exploited some of these lesser-known elements: the Common of Saints (as opposed to the Sanctorale) was drawn on in relation to *Pearl*, as was material from the Pontifical, in this case the Consecration of Virgins. In connection with *Cleanness*, the responds at Matins were emphasized, as having in practice equal weight with the Matins readings, as well as being less variable. The section on *Cleanness* also illustrated the contribution that can be made by medieval liturgical commentary and vernacular Mass-homilies, neither of them strictly part of the liturgy, but both existing in support of it.

In addition, Part I wrestled with the problem of the different local rites in England, and Part II suggested a way of using liturgical material when the exact rite appropriate to a poet is not known, as is the case with the *Gawain*-poet.

Part II illustrated two further aspects of the liturgy. In the section on *Pearl*, examination of the blocks of Scripture which underlie the Common of Virgins, and of their re-use in the liturgy, revealed that the relationship between the two is not straightforward. To a certain extent, the liturgy composes its

own version of Scripture. It does this not only because the actual Latin wording, deriving fron the "Old Latin" translations of the Bible, differs at many points from that of the Vulgate, but because, as we saw, the liturgy does not hesitate to change the gender of adjectives for its own purposes, or to transpose a sentence fom one passage to another. Its method of interweaving disparate Scriptural images thus produces a text which is a meditation on Scripture, rather than a quotation of it.

In the section on *Cleanness*, we looked not just at individual sections of liturgy, but at a whole season of the Church's year, with its own internal logic and its own momentum: in this case, the seventy days of Septuagesima steadily gather pace as they move towards the climax of Easter and Easter Week. This dynamic aspect of the liturgy was applied to the structural difficulties of a long poem, in the hope of revealing in it a greater coherence than at first meets the eye, and of bringing out its own forward momentum.

In addition, it is hoped that the overview of the liturgy provided in Chapter I might be useful to other readers, while the discussion of the different rites in Chapter II might serve to advance future studies in the liturgy, particularly by providing a comparative lectionary and a working handlist of manuscripts. It will be obvious from both these chapters that much more work needs to be done on the subject of medieval liturgy in England; it

is hoped that this thesis might encourage many other people to enter the field.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES.

EETS	Early English Text Society.
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society.
Hereford Breviary	*The Hereford Breviary*, 3 vols., ed. W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown, HBS 26, 40, 46 (London, 1904, 1911, 1915).
Hereford Missal	*Missale ad Usum Percelebrensis Ecclesiae Herefordensis*, ed. W. G. Henderson (Leeds, 1874).
Hyde Breviary	*The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, ed. J. B. L. Tolhurst, 6 vols., HBS 69, 70, 71, 76, 78, 80 (London, 1931-32, 1937, 1939, 1941-42).
M. Æ.	*Medium Ævum.*
MLQ	*Modern Language Quaterly.*
MP	*Modern Philology.*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (221 vols., Paris, 1844-64).
RUO	*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa.*
Roman Missal	*Missale Romanum 1474*, ed. R. Lippe, 2 vols., HBS 17, 33 (London, 1899, 1907).
Sarum Breviary	*Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1879-86).
Sarum Missal (Legg)	*The Sarum Missal edited from Three Early MSS.*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford 1916, repr. 1969).
Sarum Missal (Dickinson)	*Missale ad Usum Insignis et Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. W. Dickinson (Burntisland, 1861-83).
SP	*Studies in Philology.*
Westminster Missal	*The Missal of Westminster Abbey*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, 3 vols., HBS 1, 5, 12 (London, 1891, 1893, 1896).

York Breviary	*Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. S. W. Lawley, 2 vols., Surtees Society 71, 75 (London, 1880, 1883).
York Missal	*Missale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. W. G. Henderson, 2 vols., Surtees Society 59, 60 (London, 1874).

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE LITURGICAL MATERIAL AND APPENDICES.

Ant.	Antiphon.
Ath.	Athanasian.
BVM	Blessed Virgin Mary.
Cant.	Canticle.
F.	Feast-day.
in evan.	in evangelio.
in Quicunq.	in Quicunque.
incl.	including.
L.	Lent.
Ps. / Pss.	Psalm / Psalms.
R.	Roman rite (1474).
R. V.	Respond and Verse.
S.	Sarum rite.
T.	Tridentine rite.
V. R.	Versicle and Response.
var.	variable.
vv.	verses.
Y.	York.
H.	Hereford.

NOTES.

NOTES TO PAGES 1-6.

INTRODUCTION.

1. See the studies mentioned below, pp. 6-8.

2. See below, Part II, *Cleanness*, pp. 161-62.

3. P. M. Kean, *The Pearl: An Interpretation* (London, 1967), 215.

4. A. C. Spearing, *The Gawain-Poet: A Critical Study* (Cambridge, 1970), 165-66.

5. R. T. Davies, *The Corpus Christi Play of the English Middle Ages* (London, 1972).

6. Ibid., 63.

7. Walter W. Skeat, *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, together with Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest, secundum Wit et Resoun*, Part IV, Section 1: Notes to Texts A. B. C., EETS o.s. 67 (London, 1887), Index III, Part A, 503-8.

8. A. H. Fuller, 'Scripture in *Piers Plowman B*', *Medieval Studies*, xxiii (1961), 352-6.

9. B.10.441 (ed. Skeat); = B.10.438 in A. V. C. Schmidt ed., *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (London, 1978), who incorporates Anne Fuller's reference. See her note 6, op. cit., p.356.

10. D. W. Robertson, Jr., & Bernard F. Huppé, *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition* (Princeton, 1951).

11. See, for example, three articles in D. Bethurum,ed., *Critical Approaches to Medieval Literature* (Columbia, 1960): E. T. Donaldson, 'Patristic Exegesis in the Criticism of Medieval Literature: the Opposition', 1-26; R. E. Kaske, 'Patristic Exegesis in the Criticism of Medieval Literature: the Defense', 27-60; Charles Donahue, 'Patristic Exegesis in the Criticism of Medieval Literature: Summation', 61-82.

12. The longest of the daily Offices: see below, pp. 29-39. Although the seventeenth-century spelling "Mattins" may be more familiar to users of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, the more widespread spelling "Matins" will be used throughout this thesis.

13. Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, eds., *A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1978), I, 36-52.

14. Raymond St.- Jacques, 'The Liturgical Associations of Langland's Samaritan', *Traditio*, xxv (1969), 217-30.

15. Míceál F. Vaughan, 'The Liturgical Perspectives of *Piers Plowman* B. 16-19', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s. iii (1980), 87-155, at 100, 103-123.

16. M. Ray Adams, 'The Use of the Vulgate in *Piers Plowman*', *SP*, xxiv (1927), 556-66.

17. Greta Hort, *Piers Plowman and Contemporary Religious Thought* (London, [1938]).

18. Pasquale di Pasquale, Jr., *The Form of Piers Plowman and the Liturgy* (Diss. University of Pittsburgh, 1965). [Abstracted D.A. 26: 4626.]

19. R. E. Kaske, 'Holy Church's Speech and the Structure of *Piers Plowman*,' in: Beryl Rowland, ed., *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of R. H. Robbins* (London, 1974), 320-41.

20. Robert Adams, 'Langland and the Liturgy Revisited', *SP*, lxxiii (1976), 266-84, at 281-82.

21. M. Vaughan, 'Liturgical Perspectives', 123-150.

22. John A. Alford, 'The Role of the Quotations in *Piers Plowman*, *Speculum*, lii (1977), 50-99.

23. M. Vaughan, 'Liturgical Perspectives.', 87, n.2.

24. See John A. Alford, 'A Note on *Piers Plowman* B. 18. 30: *Till Parce it Hote*', *MP*, lxix (1972), 323-5; 'Haukyn's Coat: Some Observations on *Piers Plowman* B. 14. 22-27', *MÆ*, xliii (1974), 133-7; 'Some Unidentified Quotations in *Piers Plowman*', *MP*, lxxii (1975), 390-99. See also R. St.-Jacques, 'Langland's Christ-Knight and the Liturgy', *RUO*, xxxvii (1967), 217-30; 'Conscience's Final Pilgrimage in *Piers Plowman* and the Cyclical Structure of the Liturgy', *RUO*, xl (1970), 210-23; 'Langland's Bells of the Resurrection and the Easter Liturgy', *English Studies in Canada*, iii (1977), 129-35; 'Middle English Literature and the Liturgy: Recent Research and Future Possibilities', *Mosaic*, xii.2 (1979), 1-10.

25. Ian Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting* (Oxford, 1968), 104-12.

26. Ian Bishop, *The Structure of Pearl: The Interrelations between "Liturgical" and "Poetic" Elements* (B. Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1954), 139-50.

27. Heather Phillips, 'The Eucharistic Allusions of *Pearl*', *Mediaeval Studies* (Pontifical Institute of Toronto), xlvii (1985), 474-86.

28. R. Davies, *The Corpus Christi Play*, 31-33.

29. Edward. M. Clark, "Liturgical Influences in the Towneley Plays", *Orate Fratres*, XVI (1941), 69-79.

30. V. A. Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (London, 1966), 43 ff., 87; O .B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1965), 284.

31. See below, pp. 129-33.

32. Thomas Campbell, 'Liturgy and Drama: Recent Approaches to Medieval Theatre', *Theatre Journal* (October, 1981), 289-301.

33. This problem, and the use of the term "rites", is discussed below, p. 87-134.

34. M. Ray Adams, 'The Use of the Vulgate', 556.

35. Greta Hort, *Piers Plowman.*, 47.

36. See below, pp. 100-102.

37. Maureen Hanna, *The treatment of the B-Text of Piers Plowman, with special reference to liturgical and other sources*, (B.Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1958), 104-5; Ian Bishop, *Pearl in Its Setting*, 102.

38. R. St-Jacques, 'Langland's Samaritan', 217 and 229.

39. See below, pp. 103-106.

40. T. Campbell, 'Liturgy and Drama', 291-92.

41. James Oakden, 'The Liturgical Influence in *Pearl*', in: Arno Esch, ed., *Chaucer und Seine Zeit - Symposium für Walter F. Schirmer* (Tübingen, 1968), 337-53.

42. For the Manuals, see, for example, W. G. Henderson, ed., *Manuale et Processionale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Soc. 63 (Durham, 1875), 60-102; for the Sarum Manual, ibid., Appendix I, 60*-85*. For the Votive Masses of the Dead, see *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 423-450; *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), 860*-885*; *Hereford Missal*, 426-36; *York Missal*, II, 183-89.

43. Bod. MS. Canon Liturg. 190, f.45v.

NOTES TO PAGES 13-15.

44. G. Hort, *Piers Plowman*, 43-56, and Appendix, 161-70.

45. R. Adams, 'Liturgy Revisited.', 270-81.

46. This is the edition reprinted by F. Procter and C. Wordsworth , eds., *Breviarum ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum* (Cambridge, 1879-86), 3 vols.

47. Procter and Wordsworth, *Sarum Breviary*, II, v.
For a complete list of all the extant printed copies and fragments of the Breviary, see III, xli.
The Sarum Portos has been partially edited by Charles Seager (Salisbury, 1842).

48. E.g. compare the readings for Palm Sunday-Maundy Thursday in BL MS Royal A. 2. xiv, ff. 67r-71v, with those in *Sarum Breviary*, I, dccl-dcclxxxi. The MS. readings are often shorter versions of the printed ones, as in Palm Sunday, Nocturns II and III (MS. ff. 67v-68r; *Sarum Breviary*, I, dccliii-iv), but are sometimes different passages from the same book of Scripture, as in the lessons from Jeremiah throughout the week, where the MS. works steadily through ~~work~~ chapters 5 and 6, while the printed edition works through chapters 11 and 12.

49. Thomas Hill, 'A Liturgical Allusion in *Piers Plowman* B. 16. 88, *N&Q*, n.s. xxii (1975), 531-2.

50. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 226-27; *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), 625-26; *Hereford Missal*, 133-34; *York Missal*, II, 200.

51. See below, pp. 81-82.

NOTES TO PAGES 16-20.

CHAPTER I. OVERVIEW OF THE LITURGY.

1. Preliminary remarks.

1. Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*: An Introduction to the Sources, trans. and rev. W. Storey and N. Rasmussen (Washington D.C., 1986), xviii; R. W. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto 1982), xiv.

2. See for example F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone eds., *Dictionary of the Christian Church* (2nd ed. Oxford, 1974), 830.

3. See below, pp. 69-86.

4. For two very useful surveys of the history of liturgical studies, see Olivier Rousseau, *Histoire du Mouvement Liturgique*, Lex Orandi 3 (Paris, 1945), and Louis Bouyer, *Life and Liturgy* (London, 1956; 4th impr., 1978), Appendix, 272-81.

5. See for example Dom Anselm Hughes ed. *Early Medieval Music up to 1300 (The New Oxford History of Music, Vol. II)* (London, 1954), chs. III, IV, V; P. Combe OSB, *Histoire du restauration du chant grégorien d'après des documents inédits* (Solesmes, 1969).

6. Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), I, 21-43.

7. Ibid., I, 17.

8. O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1965), 48-77.

9. For the interweaving of the Ordinary and the Proper of the Mass, see below, Appendix I, Table 1.

2. The Mass.

1. E.g. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 14; *Hereford Missal*, 1; *York Missal*, 1; plus all subsequent masses in each of the above. Ct. *Roman Missal 1474*, 1, plus all subsequent masses, where the word 'Introit' is used.

2. E.g. see *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 13, 14, plus all subsequent Sunday masses.

3. See below, p. 48.

NOTES TO PAGES 20-23.

4. Louis Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (Paris, 1899), 163; J.-A. Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia* (Vienna, 1948), French trans. [anon.], 3 vols. (Paris, 1956), II, 75-7.

5. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 14, rubrics accompanying the Officium; cf. *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), col. 2, 582; *Hereford Missal*, 1; *York Missal*, xlvi; ct. *Roman Missal 1474*, 1.

6. The psalms are given in their Vulgate numbering, with the numbering followed in the Authorised Version in brackets.

7. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 136, 140.
For the relationship between the Introit, psalm-verse and feast, see Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, II, 80-87.

8. For the text of the invariable chants of the Mass, see *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 5-8.

9. The farsed Kyries, and the rubrics governing their use, are most clearly set out in *Hereford Missal*, xxxviii- xliii. They are also given in *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 1-5, but not in *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), or in *York Missal*.

10. Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, II, 135-36, 139-40.

11. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 136 and 161-2.

12. See rubrics for Advent I in *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), 5-7, and for Lent, ibid., 135. The most usual sequence of Collects is: 1) of the day, 2) of Our Lady, 3) of All Saints, 4) for the universal Church, 5) for peace.

13. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 303-4.

14. E.g. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 16 (feria vi), 17 (feria iv). See also list of weekday readings below, Appendix II, Table 2.

15. The Ember Days are discussed below, pp. 63-64; for the Christmas masses, see *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 26-39; *Hereford Missal*, 12-17; *York Missal*, 14-19; *Roman Missal 1474*, 16-21.

16. See below, Appendix II, Table 5.

17. Duchesne, *Culte Chrétien*, 167-170.

18. E.g. the arrangement of the Christmas masses in n. 14 above.

19. The music of the Mass is illustrated in facsimile in W. H. Frere, ed., *Graduale Sarisburiense*, 2 vols., Plainsong and Medieval Music Society (London, 1891-94; repr. Farnborough, 1966).

NOTES TO PAGES 24-26.

20. Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, II, 195-6.

21. For the texts of the major Sequences see *Sarum Missal*, (Legg), 461-496; for the *Dies Irae* and *Lauda Sion* see *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), 884*-85*, 457-8.

22. Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, I, 131.

23. Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, II, 226-231; G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), 144-46.

24. Theodore Erbe, ed., *Mirk's Festial*, EETS e.s. 96 (London, 1905), Part I; see in particular the homily for Easter Day, 129-31.

25. Duchesne, *Culte Chrétien*, 173-5; Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia* II,279-81.

26. E.g. BL MS Add. 11414 (14C.); Bod. MS Laud Misc. 164 (15C.).

27. Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, II, 289.

28. Duchesne, *Culte Chrétien*, 176; Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, II, 370, n.6.

29. Duchesne, *Culte Chrétien*, 179; for the text of all the Proper Prefaces see *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 211-15.

30. For farsed texts of these chants, see *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 540-43.

31. The chalice was elevated only to chest-level in Sarum: Wickham Legg ed., 222; Dickinson ed., col. 617; in Hereford, the chalice is elevated in the printed ed. but not in the MS. (*Hereford Missal*, 129); York gives a choice of chest-level or 'ultra caput' (*York Missal*, 186).

32. The Canon of all the English rites is usefully set out in parallel in William Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (Oxford, 3rd. ed. 1882), 112 - 207, together with that of the Tridentine rite. The rest of the Ordinary is also set out in parallel (1-111), but is probably easier to follow in the individual editions of the rites.

33. For farsed versions of the Agnus Dei, see *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 544-47.

34. Duchesne, *Culte Chrétien*, 186-7.

35. Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, I, 136.
cf. rubrics *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), col. 629; *York Missal*, 204. The rubric does not appear to be in *Sarum Missal* (Legg), or in *Hereford Missal*.

3. The Divine Office.

1. Young, *Drama*, I, 47-75.

2. Ibid., 45-46.

3. F. M. Salter, *Medieval Drama in Chester* (Toronto, 1955; repr. New York, 1968), 33-42.

4. See e.g. W. W. Skeat, *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Ploughman, in Three Parallel Texts*, 2 vols. (London, 1954), 2, xxxii; Allen H. Bright, *New Light on Piers Plowman* (London, 1928), 41; Morton W. Bloomfield suggests a connection with Whitby in 'Was William Langland a Benedictine Monk?', *MLQ* 4:1 (1943), 57-61; for monastic influence in general, see R. Adams, 'Langland's Theology' in J. Alford, ed., *A Companion to Piers Plowman* (Berkeley, L. A. and London, 1989), 87-114, at 104-107.

5. See W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, 2 vols. Plainsong and Medieval Music Society (1894-1932), passim (arranged by library, not category).

6. Timothy Fry et al., ed. and tr., *The Rule of St. Benedict* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1981), ch. 8, p. 202. The time at which Offices were *actually* said in the late Middle Ages is not discussed here, as the evidence is confusing.

7. S. Baümer, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, tr. and rev. R. Biron, 2 vols. (Paris, 1905), I, 246.

8. *Sarum Breviary*, I, lxxxi-ii.

9. See rubrics *Sarum Breviary*, I, xviii.

10. Baümer, *Bréviaire*, I, 172-3; Pierre Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, tr. A. M. Y. Baylay from the 3rd French ed. (London, 1912), 72 and 76.

11. *Rule*, chs. 9-10, p. 202-204; cf. Baümer, *Bréviaire*, I, 110-112 and 247. The total liturgical picture presented by the Rule of St. Benedict is conveniently summarised in Baümer, *Bréviaire*, I, 243-57.

12. Baümer, *Bréviaire*, II, 13-14; Batiffol, *Breviary*, 128-9.

NOTES TO PAGES 32-38.

13. Baümer, *Bréviaire*, I, 173; ct. Batifol, *Breviary*, 79-81.

14. For the music of the responds, see a 14th C. York Breviary, Bod. MS Gough Liturg. 1. See also W. H. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, 6 vols., Plainsong and Medieval Music Society (London, 1901-15; repr. Farnham, 1966); the eight tones, illustrated with typical respond-melodies, are usefully set out on p. 4.

15. First Sunday of Advent, Respond 2, *Sarum Breviary*, I, xxii.

16. see below, pp. 211-218.

17. These terms are explained below, pp. 65-66.

18. For the ninth-century double office, see P. Salmon, *L'Office Divin au Moyen Age: Histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IXe au XVIe siècle*, Lex Orandi 43 (Paris, 1967), 37; for a twelfth-century form of the double office, see Batifol, *Breviary*, 124-5.

19. Compare e.g. Processional responds for Sundays in Advent (list of *incipits* only), *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 13; and Respond 9 for each of these Sundays, *Sarum Breviary*, I, xxix, lxxxix, cix, cxlv.

20. *Rule*, ch. 9, p. 202.

21. Baümer, *Bréviaire*, I, 246, n. 4.

22. J. B. L. Tolhurst, ed., *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, vol.I, HBS 69 (London, 1932), f. 1.

23. Baümer, *Bréviaire*, I, 246-7.

24. *Rule*, ch. 10, p. 204.

25. R. M. Lumiansky and D. Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, 2 vols., EETS s.s.3,9 (London, 1974, 1986), I, 373-4.

26. *Rule*, ch. 11, p. 204.

27. For the text of this stanza, see *Hyde Breviary*, vol. 5, HBS 71 (London, 1934), f. 452.

28. Mark 16:15.

29. Both schemes are set out by Frere in *Hereford Breviary*, III, ix.

NOTES TO PAGES 39-54.

30. For the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, see PL 95:1159-1566. Frere discusses this Homiliary and carefully sets out the Patristic readings in the three English secular rites, in *Hereford Breviary*, III, xi-xii, 177-193.

31. For the variations in the text of Compline, see *Sarum Breviary* II, 50-55.

32. See below, pp. 74-81.

33. For the full components of the Procession, see W. C. Henderson, ed., *Processionale ad usum Sarum* (Leeds, 1882), 6-8.

34. For editions of the major liturgical commentators of the Middle Ages, see Pfaff, *Bibliography*, 57-58; a fuller list is given in Salmon, *L'Office Divin*, 17. The general character of medieval liturgical commentary is discussed in Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, I, 144-153. Material from both the liturgical commentators and vernacular Mass-homilies is used in the section on *Cleanness*: see below, pp. 204-209.

4. The Church's Year.

1. Advent Sunday, V. and R. ante Laudes and Lauds Antiphon 1: *Sarum Breviary*, I, xxx.

2. For the texts of the O Antiphons, see *Sarum Breviary*, I, cliv-clvi.

3. *Sarum Breviary*, I, clx; Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 25.

4. Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 26, 28; *Sarum Breviary*, I , clxxv.

5. *Sarum Breviary*, I, cccxxx.

6. *Sarum Breviary*, III, 144.

7. For the blessing of candles and procession, see Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 246-49.

8. Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 249; this text also forms Respond 1 at Matins, *Sarum Breviary*, III, 134.

9. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 389.

10. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 308, 349.

11. John 20:19.

12. Acts 1:1-11; 2:1-4.

NOTES TO PAGES 55-65.

13. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 305-308.

14. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 309-11, 404 (Table F).

15. A. Baumstark, *Liturgie Comparée* (Chevetogne, 2nd ed., [1950]), 209.

16. *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, Liber I, cap. 1 (PL 105:993).

17. Ibid., PL 105:996.

18. See for instance the hymns at Vespers, Matins and Lauds of Quadragesima (Lent I): *Sarum Breviary*, I , dlxxi-ii, dlxxiv, dlxxxii.

19. For the ejection of penitents see Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 51; the texts are given in full in Henderson, *Sarum Processional*, 30-31. For the reconciliation of penitents, see Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 102-4; Henderson, *Sarum Processional*, 54-58.

20. For the burial ceremony see Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 115; Dickinson, *Sarum Missal*, 332-33. The ceremony is particularly full and beautiful in *Hereford Missal*, 95-97.

21. The rubrics, where they occur, specify after Sext or None: see Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 115, n.10 (None); *Hereford Missal*, "hora sexta", 97; W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*,2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898), I, 144 (after None, late afternoon).

22. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 305.

23. For the ceremony, see *Sarum Breviary*, I , dcccvii-ix.

24. This point is also made by Daniel Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, rev. G. H. Hart and W. H. Frere, 4 vols. (London, 1903-4)), IV, 287-88, and by Bruce Harbert, 'Langland's Easter', in Helen Phillips, ed., *Langland, The Mystics and The Medieval English Religious Tradition: Essays in honour of S. S. Hussey* (Cambridge, 1990), 57-70, at 66, 68.

25. *Sarum Breviary*, I , dcccxiv.

26. Young, *Drama*, I, 231-33.

27. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, I, 220.

28. Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 170.

29. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 312.

30. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 306-7.

NOTES TO PAGES 66-74.

31. *Sarum Breviary*, I , cclviii.

32. For a sixteenth-century example of the Calendar, see *Sarum Breviary*, III, vii-xiv; this version has the advantage of using modern dating, as opposed to the more traditional Kalends, Ides and Nones.

33. Pierre Salmon, *L'Office Divin* , 168-170.

34. The Pica could be broken up into as many as thirty sections, and inserted as appropriate in the Missal and Breviary; for an extended example of such a Pica section, see *Sarum Breviary*, I , ccclxxxiii-ccccii.

5. Determining liturgical boundaries.

1. Frere, *Bibliotheca*, passim.

2. This reflects a general movement in the western Church: see C. A. Gordon, ' MS Missals: the English Uses ', typescript of two lectures (November, 1936), BL MS Add. 44920, pp. 9-10; Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, I, 142.

3. F. E. Warren, ed., *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford, 1883).

4. See below, pp. 120-22.

5. For some of these minor blessings, see *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 451-56. For all the material in the Manual, see A. J. Collins, ed., *Manuale ad Usum Percelebrensis Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*, HBS 91 (London, 1960); also Henderson, *Manuale Eboracensis*, which provides supplementary material from other Manuals in Appendices.

6. For an example of the Cautelae, see *Sarum Missal (Dickinson)*, 647-656.

7. For the material in the Pontifical, see W. G. Henderson, ed., *The Pontifical of Archbishop Bainbridge of York (1508-14)* Surtees Soc. 61 (London, 1875): complete list of MS Pontificals, ix-x, which are discussed in detail, xi-xliv; supplementary material in Appendices gives complete overview of typical contents of Pontificals.

8. Proper material for the feasts of Our Lady will be found under the relevant dates in the Sanctorale of the various Missals and Breviaries, except for the Presentation of Mary, which can be found in *Sarum Breviary*, II, 329-52 (Mass and Office). The development of the new feasts is discussed in R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), 40-61, 97-115.

9. Texts of the "servitium plenum" can be found under the first Saturday of Advent, in the Temporale (*Sarum Breviary*, I, lxxii-lxxx, and attached to the Psalter and Commune Sanctorum (*Sarum Breviary*, II, 283-314).

10. Texts for the "officium parvum" are given under the first Sunday of Advent (*Sarum Breviary*, I, xxxiii-xxxix) and in the Commune, interwoven with the directions for the "plenum" office (*Sarum Breviary*, II, 283-314).

11. There is a tendency to reserve the word "Prymer" (from "primarium") for books in English; see William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1882), III, xvii, n. 24.

12. For a brief outline of these different rites, see C. Wordsworth, ed., *Horae Eboracenses*, Surtees Soc. 132 (London, 1920), xxvii-xxx.

13. A few examples of this extra material is given in Maskell, *Monumenta*, III, 287-305.

14. The monastic Office of Our Lady seems to have eventually depended more on psalm 118 (A.V. 119), perhaps because the gradual psalms were already used in the canonical Little Hours; see *Hyde Breviary*, VI, 50-55, 120-29.

15. Peter Meredith, ed., *The Mary Play from the N. town Manuscript* (London & New York, 1987), 16.

16. Ibid., 43, line 354.

17. See rubrics in *Sarum Breviary*, I, xlv.

18. See layout *Sarum Breviary*, II, 271-282.

19. For the seven penitential psalms and litanies, see *Sarum Breviary*, II, 242-259.

20. David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Heberniae*, 4 vols. (1737), II, 37.

21. H. Littlehales, ed., *The Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer Book*, 2 vols., EETS 105, 109 (London, 1895, 1897).

22. Hanna, *The Treatment of the B-Text*, 109-110; J. F. Goodridge, trans., *Piers the Ploughman*, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, rev. ed., 1966), 276, n. 63.

23. Littlehales, *Lay Folks Prayer Book*, 12 (Lauds hymn).

24. See above, pp. 14-15.

25. Critical edition F. S. Schmitt, ed., *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1938-61), III, 10, Oratio 3; another edition, *PL* 158: 927.

26. Benedicta Ward, trans., *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm*, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, 1973), 275.

27. Salvina Westra, ed. and trans., *A Talkyng of the Love of God* (The Hague, 1950), xxi.

28. *PL* 158: 927. The opening words in the Schmitt edition are slightly different: "qui Patre disponente, spiritu sancte cooperante", but the prayers would probably have circulated in the fourteenth century in the more bastardised form given in Migne.

29. I. Hodgson Hinde, ed., *Symeoni Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, vol. 1, Surtees Society 51 (London, 1868), Appendix III: Turgot's *Vita St. Margaretae*, 253.

30. See George C. Taylor, ' The Relationship of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyrics ', *MP*, 5 (1907-8), 1-38, at p. 3.

31. E.g. R. T. Davies, ed., *Medieval English Lyrics* (London, 1963), 153, No. 40; 125-26, Nos. 46, 47.

32. K. Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, II, 9-10 (Officium Pastorum); 116, 445 n. 7 (Ordo Rachelis).

33. Maskell, *Monumenta*, devotes vol. III to Prymers; C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, *The Old Service Books of the English Church* (London, 1904), 248-54.

34. See rubrics, *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 118.

35. T. F Simmons, ed., *The Lay-Folks Mass-Book*, EETS 71 (London, 1879).

NOTES TO PAGES 87-95.

CHAPTER II. THE PROBLEMS POSED BY THE DIFFERENT LOCAL RITES.

1. Characteristics of the different rites.

1. Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, xii-xiii.

2. See e.g. M. Férotin, ed., *Le liber ordinum en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica 5 (Paris, 1904); F.E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881); for other rites in general, see R. C. West, *Western Liturgies* (London, 1938), and C. E. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1878).

3. Batti‡ol, *History of the Breviary*, 120-175, stresses the "newness" of the Curial rite; for a more balanced view, see S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the modern Roman Liturgy: the liturgy of the papal court and the Franciscan Order in the thirteenth century* (London, 1960), 91-156.

4. W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898-1901).

5. A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (London, 1959), 278, adopts "rite" on the grounds of "common parlance"; Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, discusses "use", v-x; Vogel settles for "English Rites / Uses", *Medieval Liturgy*, 284.

6. *York Missal*, text of fragment, 341-48; analyzed, ix-x.

7. Van Dijk and Walker, *Origins*, 179-253.

8. See Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, rev. G. V. Smithers (2nd ed., Oxford,1952, corr. 1957), xiii-xiv, xvi-xvii; Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), 377.

9. Mainly checked in Bodley MS Latin Liturg. f. 26.

10. Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale* Bk. 8, *PL* 213: 385.

11. For the votive Masses, Sunday-Friday, see *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), 735*-750*; for the Mass of Our Lady on Saturdays throughout the year, 762*-82*.

12. Dom A. Wilmart, ' Le Comes de Murbach ', *Revue Bénédictine*, XXX (1913), 25-69. For the twelve Easter Vigil readings in the Leofric Missal, see Warren, *Leofric Missal*, 97-98.

13. See below, pp. 129-133.

NOTES TO PAGES 95-103.

14. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), xiv-xvi.

15. For the full texts, see *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 48-51; *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), 123-35; *York Missal*, 43-47; *Hereford Missal*, 39-41; *Roman Missal*, 46-48.

16. For Reconciliation of Penitents (i.e. solemn re-admission into church), see e.g. *Sarum Missal* (Legg) 102-4.

17. See *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 115; *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), 332-33; *York Missal*, 106-107; *Hereford Missal*, 95-97; *Roman Missal*, Veneration and Communion, without Burial ceremony, 171-74.

18. Mostly from Tenebrae of Holy Saturday, e.g. *Sarum Breviary*, I, dccxcv-dccci. Apart from the readings, this material is the same in all the English rites, although it may come in a slightly different order in each.

19. Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, [1918]), 276-300.

20. A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Past*, 292; Dickinson, *Sarum Missal*, iv.

2. The present state of knowledge: existing liturgical studies.

1. Daniel Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, 4 vols. (1st ed.London, 1849); rev. G. W. Hart and W. H. Frere (London, 1903-4).

2. H. J. Feasey 's *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*(London, 1897).

3. Shane Leslie, *The Oxford Movement, 1833-1933* (London, 1933), 72-76, 218-30.

4. Dickinson, *Sarum Missal*, i.

5. John David Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, contrasted with and adapted to that in the Nineteenth* (London, 1877); this is not a useful study.

6. H. E. Reynolds, *Legenda Sanctorum: The proper lessons for saints'days according to the use of Exeter* , vol.2 [only] (London, 1880), II, Pt. 1, iii.

7. William Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (Oxford, 3rd ed., 1882), 1-207. Maskell's identification of a fourteenth-century Missal in his possession as being of Bangor rite (lxxix-lxxxii) has not been generally accepted.

8. See *Sarum Breviary*, III, xxxv.

9. *Hereford Breviary* I, vii; see also *Hyde Breviary*, I, xii.

10. *Sarum Breviary*, III, xliii-li.

11. *York Missal*, II, 355-360 (MS Missals and Breviaries, and printed editions).

12. Robert Lippe, ed., *Missale Romanum 1474*, HBS 17, 33 (London, 1899, 1907).

13. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), v.

14. Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 861-69.

3. Tools for the further study of medieval rites.

1. See above, pp. 89-94.

2. The typescript catalogue of Latin liturgical MSS in the Bodleian includes several guard books which contain such fragments, e.g. Bod MSS Latin liturg. a. 8, a. 9, and b. 7.

3. See pp. 70-73.

4. W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, ed. cit.

5. Catalogues consulted include: Neil Ker, *Medieval MSS in Oxford College Libraries (not described in Coxe)*, and *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (2nd ed., 1964); M. B. Parkes, *Catalogue of Medieval MSS in Keble College, Oxford*; R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of Balliol MSS* (1963); Francis Wormald and P. M. Giles, 'A Handlist of Additional MSS in the Fitzwilliam Museum', pts. 1-4, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* (1951-54); R. Vaughan and J. Fines, 'A Handlist of MSS in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, not described by M. R. James ', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, III, ii (1960); A. N. L. Munby, *Cambridge College Libraries* (Cambridge, 1962); Bodleian typescript catalogue of Medieval MSS. Although these catalogues contain a few liturgical MSS not listed by Frere, they do not contribute anything substantial to the lists given here in Appendix III.

NOTES TO PAGES 109-118.

6. Wickham Legg, ed., *Tracts on the Mass*, HBS 27 (London, 1904), xiv-xv; *Sarum Missal*, vii.

7. C. H. Williams, ed., *English Historical Documents, Volume V: 1484-1558* (London 1967), 853.

8. Ibid.

9. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), vii-ix.

10. C. A. Gordon, 'MS Missals: the English Uses ', Typescript of two lectures (November, 1936), BL MS Add. 44920, p. 3.

11. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), xiv-xvi.

12. Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, lxviii.

13. C. A. Gordon, 'MS Missals', 18-19.

14. *Westminster Missal*, III, 1444.

15. A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Past*, 277.

16. E.g. Frere, *Bibliotheca*, Nos. 254, 259, 812.

17. Sir Henry Spelman, *Concilia, decreta, leges constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici*, 2 vols. (1639, 1664); David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Heberniae*, 4 vols. (1737); A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869-78).

18. For Canterbury, see Canterbury and York Society, volumes 39, 42, 45-47, 50-54, 64-65, 75; for Hereford, volumes 2, 5-6, 8-9, 14-15, 18, 20-23, 25-28.

19. E.g. for Lincoln, see volumes 1, 10-11, 17, 24, 31, 33, 146; for London, 7, 34, 38; for Winchester, 16, 19, 30, 32, 37, 43; for Sarum, 40, 55-59, 132, 145, 147.

20. For Durham, Surtees Society 15, 32, 119, 161-62, 164, 166, 169-70, 177, 182; for York, 56, 109, 114, 123, 127-28, 138, 141, 145, 149, 151-53; for Carlisle, however, see Canterbury and York Society, 12-13, and Rolls Series, 61.

21. E.g., among others, Somerset Record Society, volumes 1, 9-10, 13, 29-32, 49-50, 52, 54-55, for Bath and Wells; Sussex Record Society, 4, 8, 11, for Chichester; Worcester Historical Society 3, 14, 19, 36, 38, n.s. 4, n.s. 7, n.s. 10, for Worcester. For statutes governing the individual cathedral churches, see William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols., rev. J. Caley et al. (new ed., London, 1830).

22. D. M. Smith, gen. ed., *English Episcopal Acta*, British Academy (Oxford, 1980-). So far, volumes cover Canterbury, Lincoln, York and Norwich.

23. Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*, 9 volumes, Rolls Series 41; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Minora*, Rolls Series 44, *Chronica Majora*, 4 volumes, Rolls Series 57; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series 52. Several medieval chronicles are also published by the Camden Society.

24. See W. Sparrow Simpson, *Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral in 1297 and 1458*, Camden Society n.s. lv (London, 1895), p. 1 (=50) ff. For other evidence concerning the existence of "Use of St. Paul's" books before the Great Fire of 1666, see the Cathedral library inventory of 1486, in William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (2nd ed. 1716), 68.

25. F.W. Weaver, ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1383-1500*, Somerset Record Society 16 (London, 1901), 41.

26. A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Past*, 276-374.

27. Pfaff, *Bibliography*, 5.

28. A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Past*, 292.

29. Pfaff, *Bibliography*, 5.

30. See Higden, *Polychronicon*, Bk. 7, cap. 3, ~~(ed. J. R. Lumby~~, Rolls Series 41 ~~g;~~* ~~294~~; A. R. Malden, *The Canonization of St. Osmund*, Wiltshire Record Society (1901), 228; David Laing, ed., *Breviarium Aberdonense*, Bannatyne Club 100, 2 vols. (London, 1854), xi.

* 9 vols, ed. C. Babington (vols. I-II) and J. R. Lumby (vols. III-IX), VII, 294.

31. Higden, ibid.

32. See above, pp. 71-72.

33. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, gives the whole "Consuetudinary", and the text of the original "Institutio Osmundi" in Appendix II, 259-61.

NOTES TO PAGES 121-27.

34. A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Past*, 281; cf. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, I, xviii, n. 2.

35. E.g. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, I, xix; Diana Greenway, 'The false Institutio of St. Osmund', in Diana Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J, Sayers, eds, *Tradition and Change: Essays in honour of Marjorie Chibnall* (Cambridge, 1985), 77-114.

36. Sir William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 3.

37. Maskell, *Monumenta*, II, 360.

38. Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 505.

39. For the feasts which qualified as doubles ("duplex"), see *Sarum Breviary*, II, 462-64.

40. See Frere, *Use of Sarum*, I, 110-128.

41. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI: Pt. 3, 1264.

4. Conclusions.

1. See evidence assembled in Laing, *Breviarium Aberdonense*, vii-xxv.

2. See J. Stevenson ed., *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, Surtees Society 10 (London, 1840); rev. U. Lindelöf, Surtees Society 140 (London, 1927).

3. A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Past*, 294.

4. Ibid., 286-87.

5. See J. N. Dalton, ed., *Ordinale Exon.*, 2 vols., HBS 37, 38 (London, 1909).

6. H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral: its foundation, constitutional history, and statutes* (Leeds, 1881), 1-113.

7. The surviving fragments are given and discussed in W. Sparrow Simpson, ed., *Documents Illustrating the History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society n.s. xxvi (London, 1880), chapters 1-14. The fragments chiefly concern special offices for St. Erkenwald, SS. Peter and Paul, and the "martyr" Thomas of Lancaster.

8. See, for example, the evidence in R. W. V. Elliott, *The Gawain-Country*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s. viii (Leeds 1984).

NOTES TO PAGES 128-132.

9. For the different monastic (all variations of the Benedictine) and religious rites, see A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London, 1955). For historical reasons, the Dominican rite had affinities with Sarum, and the Carmelite rite came to depend on the Dominican: 235-395.

10. See above, p. 36.

11. See discussion in F. M. Salter, *Medieval Drama in Chester* (Toronto, 1955, repr. N.Y., 1968), 33-42, and in R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle: Essays and Documents* (Chapel Hill & London, 1983), 167-68.

12. For a description of her life and work, see Karl Young, *Drama*, I, 2-6.

13. See R. Beadle, ed., *The York Plays* (London, 1982), 373-79; K. S. Block, ed., *Ludus Coventriae or The Play called Corpus Christi*, EETS 120 (London, 1922, repr. 1960), 349-52; G. England, ed., *The Towneley Plays*, EETS e.s. 71 (London, 1897), 353-66.

14. See R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, eds., *The Chester Plays*, EETS s.s. 3 (London, 1974), 369-77.

15. *Hyde Breviary*, II, f. 106 (Eastertide canticles); 'Quis est iste' used on Ascension Day itself, f. 118v.

16. See above, p. 2, 9.

17. V. A. Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (London, 1966), 51.

18. Ibid., 88-99.

19. E.g. Kolve, ibid., 87; Hardin Craig, 'The Origin of the Old Testament Plays', *MP*, 10 (1913), 473-87, at 484.

20. R. W. Ingram, ed., Records of Early English Drama: Coventry (Manchester, 1981), 77.

21. See the opening chapters in E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1903), particularly I, 39, n.1 & 2.

22. An example of the suppression of plays in church in 1348 is recorded at Hereford Cathedral, in J. H. Parry, ed., *The Register of Bishop John of Trillek*, Canterbury and York Society 8 (London, 1912), f. 92a.

23. cf. R. Davies, *Medieval English Lyrics*, 23.

NOTES TO PAGES 132-134.

24. See R. L. Greene, *Early English Carols* (Oxford, 1935), cxxi-cxxxii; see also above, p. 90, n. 8.

25. The full range of similarities is dicussed in George Taylor, 'The Relationship of the English Corpus Christi Play', op. cit.

26. The longest discussions are in Karl Young, *Drama* I, 79-112, and in O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite*, 1-79.

27. See *Roman Missal*, I, 183, 187; Franciscan Missal, Bodley MS Lat. liturg. f. 26, ff. 67r, 68v.

NOTES TO PAGES 135-146.

CHAPTER III. *PEARL* AND THE COMMON OF VIRGINS.

1. H. Phillips, "Eucharistic Allusions", which summarizes the debate.

2. These questions are reviewed in E. V. Gordon, ed., *Pearl* (London, 1953), xi-xxvii. All quotations from the poem are from this edition.

3. E.g. Sir Israel Gollancz, ed. and tr., *Pearl* (London, 2nd. ed., 1921), xliii.

4. Leaving aside Matrons, Virgins who have only a memorial, saints like St. Mary Magdalen who have a Proper Office, and problematic virgin queens such as Bathildis, a rough count through the Calendars produces: *Sarum Missal* (Legg), xxi-xxxii: 20; *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), 17**-28**: 25; *Hereford Missal*, xxi-xxxii: 24; *York Missal, II, xxx-xli: 21; York Breviary*, I, (3)-(14): 24; *Hyde Breviary*, V, f.G.4-G.9v.: 25. The English rites show themselves more restrained than the *Roman Missal (1474)*, xiii-xxiv: 35.

5. H. Musurillo, ed. and tr., *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford, 1972), xxv, 106-131.

6. E.g. *Hereford Missal*, xxiii; *Sarum Missal* (Dickinson), 19**.

7. B. J. Timmer, ed., *Judith*, Methuen's Old English Library (London, 1952), ll. 35, 43, 125, 135, 145, 165, 254, 334.

8. See Appendix IV. The material is taken from: *Sarum Breviary*, II, 440-56; *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 378-82; *York Breviary*, II, 59-69; *York Missal*, II, 154-57; *Hereford Breviary*, I, 76-85; *Hereford Missal*, 394-98; *Hyde Breviary*, V, f.436-441v.; *Westminster Missal*, II, 1096-1109. For the sake of clarity, I have normalized spelling and punctuation throughout, to conform to the conventions followed by Procter and Wordsworth in *Sarum Breviary*.

9. *Sarum Breviary*, II, 444; Appendix IV, Respond 4.

10. The Vulgate numbering for chapters and verses is followed throughout, as given in A. Colunga and L. Turrado eds., *Biblia Sacram iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, Biblioteca de Auctores Cristianos (Madrid, 4th ed., 1965). It differs frequently from the A.V. numbering.

11. *Sarum Breviary*, I, cliv.

12. *York Missal*, II, 155.

NOTES TO PAGES 146-53.

13. "Leticiae" is the Old Latin reading; the Vulgate has "iustitiae".

14. I have found no source for this beautiful sentence.

15. *Westminster Missal*, II, 1099.

16. This is the liturgical (Old Latin) version, as in *Sarum Breviary*, II, 101-103; the verse-divisions are different from those in the Vulgate.

17. For convenience, the Vulgate text, which has verse-numbering, is given here. The liturgical text is used for the antiphons in Appendix IV.

18. E.g. Ambrose, Migne, PL 15:1861, where the bride is black through the sinfulness of the flesh; Walafrid Strabo, PL 113:1130, where the bride is blackened by temptation; Honorius, PL 172:368, where she is blackened by tribulation.

19. *Sarum Breviary*, II, 448.

20. *Sarum Breviary*, II, 410.

21. For the profession rites of monks and nuns, see: *Westminster Missal*, II, 1187-1216 (14th C.); for an earlier rite (10th C.), H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, HBS 24 (London, 1903), 131-35 (monks), 135-6 (nuns); for a later rite, W. G. Henderson, ed., *The Pontifical of Archbishop Bainbridge of York (1508-14)*, Surtees Soc. 61 (London, 1875), 154-69 (nuns only); for the passages quoted here, ibid., 155, 168, 169.

22. See Appendix IV; cf. *Sarum Breviary*, II, 444; *Hereford Breviary*, I, 78.

23. For martyrs, see, for example, *Sarum Breviary*, II, 371-409; particularly 371, Vespers ant. and chapter; 377-79, Responds 6,7,8,; 384, hymn; 385, Responds at *Terce and Sext; 399*, Respond 2; 402, Respond 6; 406, hymn. For Confessors, see 409-440; particularly 416, Respond 5; 417, second ant.; 420, hymn; 421, None chapter; 428, Vespers ant.; 429, Respond 5; 434, first ant.; 439, Lauds Ant.2.

24. Henderson, *Pontifical*, 160; a fourteenth-century version, 208 (from Pontifical of Bp. Martivall of Salisbury).

25. Henderson, *Pontifical*, 246 (from Pontifical of Bp. Russell of Lincoln).

26. See Appendix IV.

NOTES TO PAGES 153-60.

27. Compare, for instance, the lessons in the printed *York Breviary*, II, 62-65, to those in two late fourteenth-century MSS: Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 84, f.235r-237v; for the third Nocturn only, Bodleian MS. Gough Liturg. 1, f.47v-50r. The MSS lessons are longer, and in most sections include an extra sentence or two.

28. For full text, see Migne, *PL* 16:187-232.

29. *Hereford Breviary*, III, xiv; Matins readings, *York Breviary*, II, 62-63.

30. *Hereford Breviary*, I, 77-78.

31. For full text, see Migne, PL 76:1114-18, 1118-25.

32. For full text, see Migne, *PL* 38:573-80.

33. Gollancz, *Pearl*, xiv; Oakden, "Liturgical Influence", 352-3.

34. Gordon, *Pearl*, xiii.

35. Gordon, *Pearl*, xxiii-xxiv, xxiv n.; Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting*, 42-44.

37. Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting*, 104-112.

38. Henderson, *Pontifical*, 82; *Pontifical of Archbishop Egbert of York*, Surtees Soc. 27 (London, 1855), 108.

39. Kean, *Pearl*, 215; Spearing, *Gawain-Poet*, 165-6; Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting*, 37.

NOTES TO PAGES 161-205.

CHAPTER IV. *CLEANNESS*: A POEM FOR LENT?.

1. A. C. Cawley and J. J. Anderson, *Pearl, Cleanness, Patience, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (London, 1978), xv.

2. Margaret Williams, R.S.C.J., *The Pearl Poet* (New York, 1970), 34.

3. W. A. Davenport, *The Art of the Gawain Poet* (London, 1978), 55.

4. See for example Cawley and Anderson, *Pearl etc.*, vii; Davenport, *Art of Gawain Poet*, 1; A. C. Spearing, *The Gawain Poet* (Cambridge, 1970), 37.

5. Charlotte Morse, *The Pattern of Judgement in The Queste del Saint Graal and Cleannesse* (Columbia, 1978).

6. Ibid., 26-27. For Alain de Lille's text, see Migne, *PL* 210:461-65.

7. All quotations are taken from J. J. Anderson, ed., *Cleanness* (Manchester, 1977), as are the "stanza" or "quatrain" divisions, discussed 1-2.

8. E.g. "þat bere þe croun of þorne", *Gawain*, l. 2529.

9. *Sarum Breviary*, I, dccclxviii-dccccxvi. As there is comparatively little variation across the rites in Septuagesima, all material relating to the Office will be taken from this source, unless otherwise specified.

10. See Anderson, *Cleanness*, Glossary, 136.

11. *Sarum Breviary*, I, dcclxiv.

12. See above, pp. 53-62. The lectionary for Septuagesima in Appendix II, Table 3, will also be of use in the present Chapter.

13. See F. J. E. Raby,ed., *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1959), 74-76.

14. Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, Bk. 6, Migne, *PL* 213:243-44.

15. Ibid., col. 246.

16. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 131. Since the Septuagesima material at Mass shows very little variation across the rites, all liturgical material from the Mass will be quoted from this source, unless otherwise specified. For simplicity, the modern names of the days of the week have been used; in the service-books, they are:
    Sunday: dominica.
    Monday-Friday: feria ii-feria vi.
    Saturday: Sabbato.

17. Sicard, *Mitrale*, *PL* 213:247.

18. Erbe, ed., *Mirk's Festial*, e.g. 115, 125, 126.

19. John Beleth, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, *PL* 202:62, 81-83.

20. *Mirk's Festial*, 68.

21. Beleth, *PL* 202:117.

22. Sicard, *Mitrale*, Bk. 8, *PL* 213:400.

23. Ibid., col. 400-401.

24. *Sarum Breviary*, I, dccclxv.

25. R. Morris, ed., *Old English Homilies*, EETS o.s. 53 (London, 1873), 92-101.

26. *Mirk's Festial*, 131.

27. *Sarum Missal* (Legg), 45.

28. See Responds, *Sarum Breviary*, I, cccclxxxv-ccccxciv.

29. *York Breviary*, I, 234.

30. *Sarum Breviary*, I, dxiv-dxxiii.

31. *York Breviary*, I, 245-47; weekday Responds, 249.

32. See rubric, *Sarum Breviary*, I, dxiii.

33. Sarum and York rites only; other rites have shorter passage from this Gospel.

34. Rubric, *Sarum Breviary*, I, dxli.

35. See *Hereford Breviary*, 267 n.

36. *Sarum Breviary*, I, dxlvi-dl.

NOTES TO PAGES 217-40.

37. *York Breviary*, I, 256.

38. Chertsey Breviary, Bodley MS. Latin liturg. e. 37, f. 86r. (N.B. despite the present folio numbering, and first appearances, there is a folio missing between 85v. and 86r., so the beginning of Quinquagesima is lost.)

39. *Sarum Breviary*, I, dxix.

40. *York Breviary*, 292.

41. *Roman Missal*, I, 47.

42. *Hyde Breviary*, I, f.67r.

43. Hereford: first Collect at the Blessing of Ashes;
Sarum: fifth alternative Collect.

44. Sicard, *Mitrale*, *PL* 213:401: "Ne igitur ad captivitatem similem revertamur et a nuptiis excludamur, monet nos Paulus in epistola..."

45. *York Breviary*, I, 417.

46. *Sarum Breviary*, I, dxciv.

47. Augustine: *Sermo de Urbis Excidio*, ch. 1,
PL 40:717.

48. Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum 132*, *PL* 37:1731.

49. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, cap. 110, *PL* 83:114.

50. Davenport, *Art of Gawain Poet*, 55.

51. This homiletic structure has been most carefully set out in Margaret Williams, *The Pearl-Poet*, annotated chart, [352-3]; for a briefer and slightly different scheme, see M. Andrew and R. Waldron, eds., *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript* (Exeter, rev. ed., 1987), 25.

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Bodley MS Gough Liturg. 1 (York Choir Breviary, 14th C.)

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(Benedictine Breviary, Chertsey Abbey, 14th C.)

Other:

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APPENDIX I: Table 1.

STRUCTURE OF THE MASS.

	PROPER (variable)			ORDINARY (invariable)
	Prayers	Readings	Chants.	
1.			Introit	
2.				Kyrie
3.				Gloria.
4.	Collect.			
(5).		(O.T. Lessons)[a]		
6.		Epistle.		
7.			Gradual[b]	
8.			Alleluia	
(9).			(Sequence)[c]	
10.		Gospel		
(11)		(Homily)[d]		
12.				Creed
13.			Offertory	
14.	Secret			
15.	Preface.			
16.				Sanctus
17.				Benedictus
18.				CANON
19.				Agnus Dei.
20.			Communion.	
21.	Post-communion.			
(22)	(Super Populum.)[e]			

Notes to Table 1.

a. Certain Masses (e.g. Ember Days) only.

b. In Lent, the Gradual is replaced by a Tract, and in Eastertide, by a first Alleluia.

c. On major feast-days only.

d. On certain days only, such as Sundays, feast-days, and perhaps in Lent.

e. In Lent only.

APPENDIX I: Table 2.

STRUCTURE OF THE OFFICE: NIGHT OFFICE: MATINS.

Weekdays and minor ("three-lesson") feasts.

Cathedral.

Introduction. as on Sundays.
Nocturn (6 antiphons + 12 psalms + 3 lessons). Psalmody. Antiphon 1; 2 psalms; ant. in full. Antiphon 2; 2 psalms; ant. in full. Antiphon 3; 2 psalms; ant. in full. Antiphon 4; 2 psalms; ant. in full. Antiphon 5; 2 psalms; ant. in full. Antiphon 6; 2 psalms; ant. in full. V., R.; Pater Noster. Readings. Blessing of 1st reader; Lesson 1; Respond 1. Blessing of 2nd reader; Lesson 2; Respond 2. Blessing of 3rd reader; Lesson 3; Respond 3.
Conclusion. Ante Laudes V., R.

Monastic.

Introduction. as on Sundays.
Nocturn I (3 antiphons + 6 psalms + 3 lessons /1 lesson). Psalmody. Antiphon 1; 2 psalms; ant. in full. Antiphon 2; 2 psalms; ant. in full. Antiphon 3; 2 psalms; ant. in full. V., R.; Pater Noster; Absolution. Readings in winter. Blessing of 1st reader; Lesson 1; Respond 1. Blessing of 2nd reader; Lesson 2; Respond 2. Blessing of 3rd reader; Lesson 3; Respond 3. / Reading in summer. Blessing of reader; short lesson; short respond.
Nocturn II (1 antiphon + 6 psalms + chapter). Psalmody. Antiphon 4; 6 psalms; ant. in full. Chapter; V., R.
Conclusion. Preces; Collect.

APPENDIX I: Table 3.

STRUCTURE OF THE OFFICE: NIGHT OFFICE: MATINS.

Cathedral.

Sundays and major ("nine-lesson") feasts.

Introduction.
Matins V.: Domine, labia mea...; R.: Et os meum...
Opening V., R., Gloria.
Invitatory antiphon; Ps. 94.; ant. repeated.
Hymn.

Nocturn I (3 antiphons + 12 psalms + 3 lessons) / (F:3 psalms).
Psalmody.
Antiphon 1; 4 psalms; ant. repeated / (F: 1 psalm).
Antiphon 2; 4 psalms; ant. repeated / (F: 1 psalm).
Antiphon 3; 4 psalms; ant. repeated / (F: 1 psalm).
V., R.; Pater Noster.
Readings.
Blessing of 1st reader; Lesson 1; Respond 1.
Blessing of 2nd reader; Lesson 2; Respond 2.
Blessing of 3rd reader; Lesson 3; Respond 3.

Nocturn II (3 antiphons + 3 psalms + 3 lessons).
Psalmody.
Antiphon 4; 1 psalm; ant. repeated.
Antiphon 5; 1 psalm; ant. repeated.
Antiphon 6; 1 psalm; ant. repeated.
V., R.; Pater Noster.
Readings.
Blessing of 4th reader; Lesson 4; Respond 4.
Blessing of 5th reader; Lesson 5; Respond 5.
Blessing of 6th reader; Lesson 6; Respond 6.

Nocturn III (3 antiphons +3 psalms + 3 lessons).
Psalmody.
Antiphon 7; 1 psalm; ant. repeated.
Antiphon 8; 1 psalm; ant. repeated.
Antiphon 9; 1 psalm; ant. repeated.
V., R.; Pater Noster.
Readings.
Blessing of 7th reader; Lesson 7; Respond 7.
Blessing of 8th reader; Lesson 8; Respond 8.
Blessing of 9th reader; Lesson 9; Respond 9.

Conclusion.
Te Deum / (Advent and Lent: Respond 9 repeated).
Ante Laudes V., R.

APPENDIX I: Table 4.

STRUCTURE OF THE OFFICE: NIGHT OFFICE: MATINS.

Monastic.

Sundays and major ("twelve-lesson") feasts.

Introduction.
Opening V., R., Gloria.
Matins V.: Domine, labia mea...; R.: Et os meum..(3 times)
Ps. 3.
Invitatory antiphon; Ps. 94.; ant. repeated.
Hymn.

Nocturn I (3 antiphons + 6 psalms + 4 lessons) /(F: 6 antiphons).
Psalmody.
Antiphon 1; 2 psalms; ant. in full.
Antiphon 2; 2 psalms; ant. in full.
Antiphon 3; 2 psalms; ant. in full.
V., R.; Pater Noster; Absolution.
Readings.
Blessing of 1st reader; Lesson 1; Respond 1.
Blessing of 2nd reader; Lesson 2; Respond 2.
Blessing of 3rd reader; Lesson 3; Respond 3.
Blessing of 4th reader; Lesson 4; Respond 4.

Nocturn II (3 antiphons + 6 psalms + 4 lessons)/(F: 6 antiphons).
Psalmody.
Antiphon 4; 2 psalms; ant. in full.
Antiphon 5; 2 psalms; ant. in full.
Antiphon 6; 2 psalms; ant. in full.
V., R.; Pater Noster; Absolution.
Readings.
Blessing of 5th reader; Lesson 5; Respond 5.
Blessing of 6th reader; Lesson 6; Respond 6.
Blessing of 7th reader; Lesson 7; Respond 7.
Blessing of 8th reader; Lesson 8; Respond 8.

Nocturn III (1 antiphon + 3 canticles + 4 lessons).
Psalmody.
Antiphon; 3 canticles; ant. in full.
V., R.; Pater Noster; Absolution.
Readings.
Blessing of 9th reader; Lesson 9; Respond 9.
Blessing of 10th reader; Lesson 10; Respond 10.
Blessing of 11th reader; Lesson 11; Respond 11.
Blessing of 12th reader; Lesson 12; Respond 12.

Conclusion.
Te Deum.
Solemn reading of Mass Gospel.
Tibi laus.
Collect.

APPENDIX I: Table 5.

STRUCTURE OF THE OFFICE: DAY HOURS.

Cathedral.

Sundays and feasts.	Weekdays.
LAUDS (5 ants. + 5 psalms)	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Ant.1; Ps. 92; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.2; Ps. 99; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.3; Ps. 62,66; ant.in full.	"
Ant.4; Benedicite; ant.in full.	cant. of the day.
Ant.5; Pss. 148-150; ant.in full.	"
Short Chapter.	"
Hymn; V.,R.	"
Ant."in evan."; Benedictus; ant.in full.	"
Preces; Collect.	"
Memorials.	"
Ps. 122 (Sarum).	
PRIME (1 ant. + 5 'psalms').	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Hymn.	"
Lauds Ant.1; pss.21-25;	ferial ant.
53;	"
117;	ps. of the day.
118:1-32; ant.in full.	"
Ant."in Quicunc."; Ath.Creed; ant.in full.	"
Short Chapter; long Respond; V., R.	"
Preces, incl. Confiteor; Collect.	"
Added to Prime:	
CAPITULAR OFFICE.	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Reading of Martyrology.	"
V.,R.; Collect.	"
Preces; Collect; Blessing.	"
Short chapter.	"
Preces; Collect; Blessing.	"
Ps. 120 (Sarum).	
TERCE (1 ant. + 3 psalms).	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Hymn.	"
Lauds Ant.2; 3 psalms; ant.in full.	ferial ant.
Short Chapter; short Respond; V., R.	
Preces; Collect.	

Table 5 (contd.)

STRUCTURE OF THE OFFICE: DAY HOURS

Cathedral.

Sundays and feasts.	Weekdays.
SEXT (1 ant. + 3 psalms).	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Hymn.	"
Lauds Ant.3; 3 psalms; ant.in full.	ferial ant.
Short Chapter; short Respond; V., R.	"
Preces; Collect.	"
NONE (1 ant. + 3 psalms).	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Hymn.	"
Lauds Ant.5; 3 psalms; ant.in full.	ferial ant.
Short Chapter; short Respond; V., R.	"
Preces; Collect.	"
VESPERS (5 ants. + 5 psalms).	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Ant.1; Ps.109; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.2; Ps.110; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.3; Ps.111; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.4; Ps.112; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.5; Ps.113; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Short Chapter.	"
Hymn; V.,R.	"
Ant."in evang."; Magnificat; ant.in full.	"
Preces; Collect.	"
Memorials.	"
COMPLINE (4 psalms).	
Compline V., R.	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Ant.; Pss. 4, 30, 90, 133; ant.in full.	
Short chapter.	
Hymn (var.); V., R..	
Ant.; Nunc Dimittis; ant.in full.	
Preces, incl. Confiteor; Collect.	
Ps. 122 (Sarum).	

APPENDIX I: Table 6.

STRUCTURE OF THE OFFICE: DAY HOURS.

Monastic.

Sundays and feasts.	Weekdays.
LAUDS (5 ants. + 5 psalms)	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Ps. 66.	"
Ant.1; Ps.50; ant.in full.	"
Ant.2; Ps.117; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.3; Ps.62: ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.4; Benedicite; ant.in full.	cant. of the day.
Ant.5; Ps.148-150; ant.in full.	"
Short Chapter; short Respond.	"
Hymn; V.,R.	"
Ant."in evangelio"; Benedictus; ant.in full.	"
Preces; Collect.	"
Memorials.	"
PRIME (1 ant. + 3 psalms).	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Hymn.	"
Lauds Ant.1; 3 psalms; ant.in full.	ferial ant.
Short Chapter; V.,R.	"
Preces, incl. Confiteor; Collect.	"
Added to Prime:	
CAPITULAR OFFICE.	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Reading of Martyrology.	"
V.,R.; Collect.	"
Preces; Collect; Blessing.	"
Reading of Rule/short chapter.	"
V.,R.; Blessing.	"
Commemoration of the members of the Order:	"
Ps. 129; Preces; Collect; V.,R.	"
TERCE (1 ant. + 3 psalms).	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Hymn.	"
Lauds Ant.2; 3 psalms; ant.in full.	ferial ant.
Short Chapter; V.,R.	"
Preces; Collect.	"

APPENDIX I: Table 6. (contd.)

STRUCTURE OF THE OFFICE: DAY HOURS.

Monastic.

Sundays and feasts.	Weekdays.
SEXT (1 ant. + 3 psalms).	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Hymn.	"
Lauds Ant.3; 3 psalms; ant.in full.	ferial ant.
Short Chapter; V.,R.	"
Preces; Collect.	"
NONE (1 ant. + 3 psalms).	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Hymn.	"
Lauds Ant.5; 3 psalms; ant.in full.	ferial ant.
Short Chapter; V.,R.	"
Preces; Collect.	"
VESPERS (4 ants. + 4 psalms).	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Ant.1; Ps. 109; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.2; Ps. 110; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.3; Ps. 111; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Ant.4; Ps. 112; ant.in full.	ps. of the day.
Short Chapter; short Respond.	"
Hymn; V.,R.	"
Ant. "in evangelio"; Magnificat; ant.in full.	"
Preces; Collect.	"
Memorials.	"
COMPLINE (3 psalms).	
Blessing; short chapter; V.,R.	
Confiteor; V., R.	
Opening V., R., Gloria.	"
Pss. 4, 90, 133.	
Hymn.	
Short chapter; V., R.	
Preces; Collect.	
Final Antiphon of B.V.M.	

APPENDIX I: Table 7.

THE *CURSUS* (DISTRIBUTION) OF THE PSALMS IN THE OFFICES.

In the following tables, the psalm-numbers will all be given in the Greek (Septuagint) numbering used in the Vulgate and in the Latin liturgical texts. This table shows how to convert these numbers, if needed, into the Hebrew numbering used in the Authorised Version and in the Book of Common Prayer.

	Vulgate.		Authorised Version.
same:	1 - 8	=	1 - 8.
divided:	9 vv.1-21	=	9.
	vv.22-39	=	10.
plus 1:	10 - 112	=	11 - 113.
divided:	113 vv.1-9	=	114.
	vv.10-	=	115.
combined:	114	=	116 vv. 1-10.
	115	=	vv. 10-.
plus 1:	116 - 145	=	117 - 146.
combined:	146	=	147 vv. 1-11.
	147	=	vv. 12-.
same:	148 - 150	=	148-150.

CURSUS OF THE PSALMS:

	Monastic	Cathedral: Sarum.
MATINS		
Sunday	(three Nocturns) I. 20-25. II. 26-31. III. 3 O.T. Canticles.	(three Nocturns) 1-14, om.4,5. 15-17. 18-20.
Weekdays	(two Nocturns)	(one Nocturn)
Monday.....	32-37, 38-44. om.35,42.	26-37.
Tuesday.....	45-51, 52-58. om.50,56.	38-51. om.42,50.
Wednesday....	59-67, 68-72. om.62-64,66.	52-67. om.53,62, 64,66.
Thursday.....	73-78, 79-84. om.75.	68-79.
Friday.....	85-93, 95-100. om.87,89-91.	80-96. om.89-92.
Saturday.....	101-104, 105-108.	97-108.
LAUDS.		
Sunday....	66; 50,117 ; 62. Canticle: Dan.3. 148-150.	92,99 ; 62,66. Canticle: Dan.3. 148-150; 122.
Monday....	66,50; 5,35. Canticle: Is.12 (F: 1 Chron.29) 148-150.	50; 5; 62,66. Canticle: Is.12. 148-150.
Tuesday...	66,50; 42,56. Canticle: Is.38(F: Tobit 13). 148-150.	50; 42; 62,66. Canticle: Is.38. 148-150.
Wednesday.	66,50; 63,64. Canticle: 1 Sam.2 (F: Judith 16). 148-150.	50; 64; 62,66. Canticle: 1 Sam.2. 148-150.
Thursday..	66,50; 87,89. Canticle: Exod.15 (F: Jer.31) 148-150.	50; 89; 62,66. Canticle: Exod.15. 148-150.
Friday....	66,50; 75,91. Canticle: Hab.3 (F: Is.45). 148-150.	50; 142; 62,66. Canticle: Hab.3. 148-150.
Saturday..	66,50; 142. Canticle: Deut.32 (F: Ecclus.36) 148-150.	50; 91; 62,66. Canticle: Deut.32. 148-150.

APPENDIX I: Table 7. (contd.)

	Monastic	Cathedral: Sarum.
PRIME.		
Sunday.....	118:1-32. Athanasian Creed.	21-25; 53,117; 118:1-32. Athanasian Creed.
Monday.....	1,2,6.	53; 23; 118:1-32.
Tuesday.....	7,8,9:1-21.	53; 24; 118:1-32.
Wednesday...	9:22-39,10,11.	53; 25; 118:1-32.
Thursday....	12,13,14.	53; 22; 118:1-32.
Friday.....	15,16,17:1-24.	53; 21; 118:1-32.
Saturday....	17:24-51,18,19.	53;om.ps;118:1-32.
TERCE.		
Sunday.....	118:33-56.	118:33-80.
Monday.....	118:105-128.	118:33-80.
All other days.....	119,120,121.	118:33-80.
SEXT.		
Sunday.....	118:57-80.	118:81-128.
Monday.....	118:129-152.	118:81-128.
All other days.....	122,123,124.	118:81-128.
NONE.		
Sunday.....	118:81-104.	118:129-176.
Monday.....	118:153-176.	118:129-176.
All other days.....	125,126,128.	118:129-176.

APPENDIX I: Table 7. (contd.)

	Monastic	Cathedral: Sarum.
VESPERS.	(four psalms/psalm-sections)	(five psalms)
Sunday	109-112.	109-113.
Monday	113-116,128.	114-116, 119,120.
Tuesday	129-132.	121-125.
Wednesday	134-137.	126-130.
Thursday	138-140.	131-136.
Friday	141,143,144:1-9.	137-141.
Saturday	144:10-21,145-147.	143-147.
COMPLINE.		
Daily	4,90,133.	4,30,90,133.

APPENDIX II: Table 1.

LECTIONARY: SUNDAYS.

(English: Sarum, York, Hereford. / Roman: 1474, Franciscan, Trent.)

	Sarum.	York/Hereford.	Rome, 1474.
Advent 1.	Rom. 13:11-14.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 21:1-9.	Mark 1:1-8 (H).	Luke 21: 25-33.
Advent 2.	Rom. 15:4-13.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 21:25-33.	as S.	Matt. 11:2-10.
Advent 3.	I Cor. 4:1-5.	as S.	Philip. 4:4-7.
	Matt. 11:2-10.	as S.	John 1:19-28.
Advent 4.	Philip. 4:4-7.	as S.	I Cor. 4:1-5.
	John 1:19-24.	as S.	Luke 3:1-6.
Sun. after* Christmas.	Gal. 4:1-7.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 2:33-40.	as S.	as S.
Epiph. 1.▷	Isaiah 60:1-6.	Rom. 3:19-26 (Y).	Rom. 12:1-5.
	John 1:29-34.	Matt. 3:13-17 (Y).	Luke 2:42-52.
Epiph. 2.	Rom. 12:1-5.	as S.	Rom. 12:6-16.
	Luke 2:42-52.	as S.	John 2:1-11.
Epiph. 3.	Rom. 12:6-16.	as S.	Rom. 12:16-21.
	John 2:1-11.	as S.	Matt. 8:1-13.
Epiph. 4.	Rom. 12:16-21.	as S.	Rom. 13:8-10.
	Matt. 8:1-13.	as S.	Matt. 8:23-27.
Epiph. 5.	Rom. 13:8-10.	as S.	Col. 3:12-17.
	Matt. 8:23-27.	as S.	Matt. 13:24-30.
Epiph. 6.	Col. 3:12-17.	as S.	-- (1474) (Trent: 1 Thess.1)
	Matt. 13:24-30.	Luke 4:14-22 (Y).	-- (1474) (Trent: as S.)
Septuag.	1 Cor. 9:24-10:4.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 20:1-16.	as S.	as S.
Sexag.	2 Cor. 11:19-12:9.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 8:4-15.	as S.	as S.
Quinquag.	1 Cor. 13.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 18:31-43.	as S.	as S.
Lent 1.	2 Cor. 6:1-10.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 4:1-11.	as S.	as S.

APPENDIX II: Table 1. (contd.)

Lent 2.	1 Thess. 4:1-7.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 15:21-28.	as S.	as S.
Lent 3.	Eph. 5:1-9.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 11:14-28.	as S.	as S.
Lent 4.	Gal. 4:22-31.	as S.	as S.
	John 6:1-14.	as S.	as S.
Pass. Sun.	Heb. 9:11-15.	as S.	as S.
	John 8:46-59.	as S.	as S.
Palm Sun.	Philip. 2:5-11.	as S.	as S.
	Matt.: Passion.	as S.	as S.
Easter Day.	1 Cor. 5:7-8.	as S.	as S.
	Mark 16:1-7.	as S.	as S.
Low Sun.	as Easter Day.	1 John 5:4-10 (Y,H).	as Y.
	as Easter Day.	John 20:19-31 (Y,H).	as Y.
Easter 2.	1 Pet. 2:21-25.	as S.	as S.
	John 10:11-16.	as S.	as S.
Easter 3.	1 Pet. 2:11-19.	as S.	as S.
	John 16:16-22.	as S.	as S.
Easter 4.	James 1:17-21.	as S.	as S.
	John 16:5-15.	as S.	as S.
Easter 5.	James 1:22-27.	as S.	as S.
	John 16:23-30.	as S.	as S.
Sun. after Ascension.	1 Pet. 4:7-11.	as S.	as S.
	John 15:26-16:4.	as S.	as S.
Pentecost.	Acts 2:1-11.	as S.	as S.
	John 14: 23-31.	as S.	as S.
Trinity.	Rev. 4:1-10.	as S.	2 Cor. 13:11-13 (1474). Rom. 11 (Trent). as S. (Franciscan).
	John 3:1-15.	as S.	John 16:4 (1474). Matt. 28. (Trent). as S. (Franciscan).
Trinity 1.	1 John 4:8-21.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 16:19-31.	as S.	Luke 6:36-42.
Trinity 2.	1 John 3:13-18.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 14:16-24.	as S.	as S.
Trinity 3.	1 Pet. 5:6-11.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 15:1-10.	as S.	as S.

APPENDIX II: Table 1. (contd.)

Trinity 4.	Rom. 8:18-23.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 6:36-42.	as S.	Luke 5:1-11.
Trinity 5.	1 Pet. 3:8-15.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 5:1-11.	as S.	Matt. 5:20-24.
Trinity 6.	Rom. 6:3-11.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 5:20-24.	as S.	Mark 8:1-9.
Trinity 7.	Rom. 6:19-23.	as S.	as S.
	Mark 8:1-9.	as S.	Matt. 7:15-21.
Trinity 8.	Rom. 8:12-17.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 7:15-21.	as S.	Luke 16:1-9.
Trinity 9.	1 Cor. 10:6-13.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 16:1-9.	as S.	Luke 19:41-47.
Trin. 10.	1 Cor. 12:2-11.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 19:41-47.	as S.	Luke 18:9-14.
Trin. 11.	1 Cor. 15:1-10.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 18:9-14.	as S.	Mark 7:31-37.
Trin. 12.	2 Cor. 3:4-9.	as S.	as S.
	Mark 7:31-37.	as S.	Luke 10:23-37.
Trin. 13.	Gal. 3:16-22.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 10:23-37.	as S.	Luke 17:11-19.
Trin. 14.	Gal. 5:16-24.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 17:11-19.	as S.	Matt. 6:24-33.
Trin. 15.	Gal. 5:25-6:10.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 17:11-19.	as S.	Luke 7:11-16.
Trin. 16.	Ephes. 3:13-21.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 7:11-16.	as S.	Luke 14:1-11.
Trin. 17.	Ephes. 4:1-6.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 14:1-11.	as S.	Matt. 22:35-46.
Trin. 18.	1 Cor. 1:4-8.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 22:35-46.	as S.	Matt. 9:1-8.
Trin. 19.	Ephes. 4:23-28.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 9:1-8.	as S.	Matt. 22:2-14.
Trin. 20.	Ephes. 5:15-21.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 22:2-14.	as S.	John 4:46-53.
Trin. 21.	Ephes. 6:10-17.	as S.	as S.
	John 4:46-53.	as S.	Matt. 18:23-35.

APPENDIX II: Table 1.

Trin. 22.	Philip. 1:6-11.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 18:23-35.	as S.	Matt. 22:15-21.
Trin. 23.	Philip. 3:17-21.	as S.	Philip. 3:17-4:3.
	Matt. 22:15-21.	as S.	Matt. 9:18-26.
Trin. 24.	Col. 1:9-11.	as S.	Col. 1:9-14.
	Matt. 9:18-22.	as S.	Matt. 24:15-35.
Sun. bef. Advent.	Jer. 23:1-8.	as S.	--
	John 6:5-14.	as S.	--.

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a. Throughout these tables 'after' stands for 'within the Octave of'.

b. This is Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany. Subsequent Sundays are numbered "post Epiphaniam" in some rites, giving the numbering reproduced here, or "post octabas Epiphaniae" in others, giving a different numbering: the Sunday given here as Epiphany 2 would be Epiphany 1 in the latter system.

APPENDIX II: Table 2.

LECTIONARY: WEEKDAYS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

	Sarum.	York.	Hereford.
Advent 1.			
Wed.	James 5:7-10. Mark 1:1-8.	as S. Matt. 3:1-6.	Isaiah 50:1-8. as Y.
Fri.	Isaiah 42:1-9. Matt. 3:1-6.	Isaiah 28,30. Luke 3:7-18.	Isaiah 42:1-13. as Y.
Advent 2.			
Wed.	Zach. 8:3-8. Matt. 11:11-15.	Isaiah 61:1-6. as S.	Isaiah 43: 5-13. as S.
Fri.	Isaiah 62:6-12. John 1:15-18.	Isaiah 43,41,42. Mark 1:4-8.	Isaiah 51:1-6. Mark 1:1-8.
Advent 3.	See Ember Days.		
Advent 4.			
Wed.	Joel 2:23-24. Luke 7: 17-28.	Isaiah 16:1-5. Matt. 3:7-11.	2 Pet. 3:8-14. as Y.
Fri.	Zach. 2:10-13. Mark 8:15-26.	Isaiah 28:16-29. John 1:15-18.	Isaiah 16:1-5. John 1:19-28.
Christmas and Epiphany.	See separate list.		
Epiph. 1.			
Wed.	Rom. 10:1-4. Matt. 4:12-17.	1 Tim. 2:1-7. Matt. 21:28-32.	Rom. 3: 19-26. Mark 1:4-11.
Fri.	Rom. 13:1-6. Luke 4:14-22.	2 Pet. 1:16-21. Matt. 4:12-17.	as Y. as Y.
Epiph. 2.			
Wed.	1 Tim. 1:15-17. Mark 6:1-6.	Col. 1:26-28. Matt. 4:23-25.	as Y. Luke 4:14-22.
Fri.	Rom. 14:14-23. Luke 4:31-37.	1 Tim. 1:15-17. as S.	as Y. Mark 1:40-44.
Epiph. 3.			
Wed.	Rom. 15:30-33. Mark 3:1-5.	Heb.3:1-6. Mark 3:6-15.	as Y. as S.
Fri.	1 Cor. 3:16-23. Matt. 4:23-25.	1 John 2:9-13. Luke 5:12-15.	as Y. Mark 3:6-15.
Epiph. 4.			
Wed.	1 Cor. 7:1-5. Luke 9:57-62.	Rom. 5:12-16. Matt. 6:1-6.	Rom. 5:17-21. as S.

Fri.	1 Cor. 7:20-24.	2 Tim. 1:8-13.	Rom. 11:25-36.
	Mark 10:13-16.	Luke 9:57-62.	as S.
Epiph. 5.			
Wed.	1 Tim. 2:1-7.	--	--
	Matt. 21:28-32.	--	--
Fri.	--	--	--
	--	--	--

Septuagesima-Easter Week. See separate list.

Easter 1.			
Wed.	--	Heb. 13:17-21.	as Y.
	--	Mark 16:9-13.	as Y.
Fri.	--	Rom. 5:6-10.	1 John 5:4-10.
	--	Matt. 28:8-18.	Matt. 28:8-15.
Easter 2.			
Wed.	1 Pet. 1:18-25.	as S.	1 Cor. 15:12-21.
	Luke 24:1-12.	as S.	as S.
Fri.	Rom. 5:18-21.	1 Cor. 15:22-28.	as Y.
	Matt. 9:14-17.	as S.	as S.
Easter 3.			
Wed.	1 John 2:1-8.	as S.	as S.
	John 3:25-36.	as S.	as S.
Fri.	1 Thess. 5:5-11.	Rom. 14:7-12.	as Y.
	John 12:46-50.	as S.	as S.
Easter 4.			
Wed.	James 2:1-13.	1 Thess. 5:5-11.	as Y.
	John 17:11-15.	John 17:11-26.	as Y.
Fri.	James 2:24-26.	Col. 1:12-18.	as Y.
	John 13:33-36.	as S.	as S.
Easter 5.			
Mon.	James 5:16-20.	as S.	as S.
(Rogation)	Luke 11:5-13.	as S.	as S.
Tues.	--	1 Tim. 2:1-7.	as Y.
(Rogation)	--	Mark 11:23-26.	Matt. 7:7-14.
Wed.	Acts 4:32-35.	as S.	as S.
(Asc. Vigil)	John 17:1-11.	as S.	as S.
Thurs.	Acts 1:1-11.	as S.	as S.
(Ascension)	Mark 16:14-20.	as S.	as S.
Fri.-Sat.	as Thurs.	as S.	as S.

(after Asc.)	as Thurs.	as S.	as S.
Easter 6.			
Mon-Wed.	as Thurs.	as S.	as S.
(after Asc.)	as Thurs.	as S.	as S.
Thurs.	as Thurs.	Eph. 4:7-13.	Heb. 2:9-3:1.
(Asc. Octave)	as Thurs.	Luke 24:49-53.	as Y.
Fri.	1 Pet. 1:15-23.	--	Eph. 2:4-7.
	Luke 24:49-53.	--	John 15:26-16:4.
Sat.	Vigil of Pentecost.	See separate list.	
Pentecost Week.			
Mon.	Acts 10:42-48.	as S.	as S.
	John 3:16-21.	as S.	as S.
Tues.	Acts 8:14-17.	as S.	as S.
	John 10:1-10.	as S.	as S.
Wed.	See Ember Days.		
Thurs.	Acts 8:5-9.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 9:1-6.	as S.	as S.
Fri.	See Ember Days.		
Sat.	See Ember Days.		
Trinity.			
Mon-Sat.	--	--	2 Cor. 13:13 / Rom. 11:33-36.
	--	--	John 15:26-16:4.
Trin. 1.			
Wed.	2 Pet. 1:16-19.	Col. 3:5-11.	as Y.
	Matt. 5:17-19.	as S.	as S.
Fri.	--	Heb. 12:11-14.	--
	--	Luke 17:1-10.	--
Trin. 2.			
Wed.	Eph. 4:17-24.	1 Cor. 15:12-23.	Rom. 6:12-14.
	Matt. 21:23-27.	Luke 20:27-40.	as S.
Fri.	--	Rev. 18.	1 John 1:5-8.
	--	Luke 12:11-21.	Luke 8:41-56.
Trin. 3.			
Wed.	2 Tim. 4:17-18.	Col. 3:17-24.	as Y.
	Matt. 5:25-30.	as S.	as S.
Fri.	--	1 John 3:1-3.	1 Pet. 1:9-17.

Table 2 (contd.)

	--	Mark 11:15-23.	as Y.
Trin. 4.			
Wed.	1 John 2:3-6.	1 Pet. 4:12-19.	Rom. 5:7-11.
	Matt. 17:10-17.	Luke 13:31-35.	Luke 18:31-35.
Fri.	--	1 John 3:21-24.	James 5:7-11.
	--	Mark 10:1-9.	as Y.
Trin. 5.			
Wed.	1 Tim. 2:1-7.	Rev. 10:8-11:4.	Rom. 3:28-4:5.
	Luke 8:22-25.	Mark 7:24-30.	Matt. 21:28-32.
Fri.	--	1 Thess. 4:9-12.	Mal. 3:5-4:6.
	--	Matt. 17:10-17.	Luke 12:54-13:5.
Trin. 6.			
Wed.	1 John 2:21-25.	Heb. 12:28-13:8.	as Y.
	Mark 10:17-21.	as S.	as S.
Fri.	--	Rom. 6:12-14.	1 John 2:1-8.
	--	Mark 5:1-20.	as Y.
Trin. 7.			
Wed.	Rom. 8:1-6.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 12:1-7.	Matt. 16:1-12.	as Y.
Fri.	--	Rom. 8:7-11.	as Y.
	--	Matt. 12:1-7.	as Y.
Trin. 8.			
Wed.	Rom. 5:8-10.	as S.	as S.
	Mark 9:37-47.	as S.	as S.
Fri.	--	1 Cor. 1:26-31.	as Y.
	--	Matt. 23:13-23.	as Y.
Trin. 9.			
Wed.	Rom. 6:16-18.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 16:10-15.	Luke 16:10-18.	as S.
Fri.	--	1 Cor. 1:17-25.	1 Cor. 15:22-28.
	--	Luke 11:37-46.	as Y.
Trin. 10.			
Wed.	1 Cor. 15:39-46.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 21:34-36.	Luke 21:20-26.	as S.
Fri.	--	Rom. 8:24-27.	as Y.
	--	Luke 21:34-36.	Luke 21:34-38.
Trin. 11.			
Wed.	1 Cor. 6:15-20.	James 4:7-12.	as S.
	Luke 18:1-8.	as S.	Matt. 12:30-37.

Table 2 (contd.)

Fri.	--	1 Cor. 6:15-20.	1 Cor. 5:11-6:8.
	--	Luke 12:48-53.	John 6:15-21.
Trin. 12.			
Wed.	2 Cor. 4:5-11.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 11:20-24.	Matt. 9:27-35.	as Y.
Fri.	--	2 Cor. 4:11-18.	as Y.
	--	Matt. 11:20-24.	as Y.
Trin. 13.			
Wed.	1 Thess. 2:9-13.	2 Cor. 5:1-11.	as Y.
	Matt. 12:14-21.	as S.	as S.
Fri.	--	Rom. 7:14:25.	as Y.
	--	Luke 12:13-24.	Luke 13:22-30.
Trin. 14.			
Wed.	2 Cor. 6:14-7:1.	as S.	as S.
	Luke 12:13-24.	Mark 1:40-45.	Mark 11:11-18.
Fri.	--	1 Cor. 6:9-14.	as Y.
	--	Luke 8:1-3.	as Y.
Trin. 15.			
Wed.	1 Tim. 1:8-14.	(Ember Day)	Col. 1:3-18.
	Luke 20:1-8.		as S.
Fri.	--	(Ember Day)	1 Tim. 6:7-16.
	--		Matt. 17:23-26.
Trin. 16.			
Wed.	Col. 2:8-13.	Col. 1:12-18.	as S.
	Mark 8:22-26.	Matt. 5:33-42.	Luke 7:28-35.
Fri.	--	1 Tim. 6:7-16.	Col. 3:25-4:6.
	--	Luke 20:1-8.	Luke 8:22-25.
Trin. 17.			
Wed.	(Ember Day)	Col. 2:8-13.	(Ember Day)
		Luke 7:28-35.	
Fri.	(Ember Day)	Col. 3:25-4:6.	(Ember Day)
		Mark 8:22-26.	
Trin. 18.			
Wed.	Rom. 15:30-33.	Eph. 1:16-21.	1 Cor. 3:16-21.
	Matt. 13:31-35.	Matt. 13:24-30.	Luke 11:47-54.
Fri.	--	1 Cor. 4:20-5:5.	as Y.
	--	Matt. 13:31-35.	Mark 8:22-26.
Trin. 19.			
Wed.	2 Thess. 2:14-3:5.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 13:36-43.	as S.	as S.

Table 2 (contd.)

Fri.	--	Rom. 13:1-4.	as Y.
	--	Mark 13:14-23.	Matt. 7:12-14.
Trin. 20.			
Wed.	2 Tim. 2:1-7.	2 Thess. 3:6-13.	as Y.
	Luke 14:12-15.	as S.	as S.
Fri.	--	1 Tim. 6:17-19.	as Y.
	--	Luke 6:22-35.	Matt. 13:31-35.
Trin. 21.			
Wed.	1 Thess 1:4-10.	1 Tim. 1:5-12.	as Y.
	Luke 6:6-11.	as S.	Mark 9:23-25.
Fri.	--	1 Tim. 2:7-15.	1 Cor. 2:12-14.
	--	Matt. 8:14-17.	Mark 4:24-29.
Trin. 22.			
Wed.	Rom. 3:19-26.	1 Tim. 2:1-7.	1 Tim. 3:16-4:8.
	Mark 11:23-26.	as S.	Matt. 13:36-43.
Fri.	--	1 Tim. 4:9-5:4.	as Y.
	--	Mark 4:24-29.	Matt. 8:28-34.
Trin. 23.			
Wed.	Rom. 5:17-21.	2 Tim. 1:8-12.	2 Tim. 2:11-21.
	Matt. 17:23-26.	as S.	Luke 14:12-15.
Fri.	--	Titus 1:15-2:10.	as Y.
	--	Mark 7:1-8.	Mark 1:21-31.
Trin. 24.			
Wed.	1 Cor. 10:20-31.	Rom. 11:25-36.	Heb. 3:12-4:3.
	Matt. 21:28-32.	Mark 12:28-34.	Luke 6:6-11.
Fri.	--	Heb. 10:19-27.	as Y.
	--	Matt. 21:28-32.	Luke 6:6-11.
Sun. before Advent.			
Wed.	--	2 Thess. 1:3-10.	James 5:7-10.
	--	Luke 10:3-9.	Matt. 8:14-22.
Fri.	--	Zach. 2:10-13.	2 Pet. 3:8-15.
	--	Mark 13:33-37.	Luke 12:13-24.

APPENDIX II: Table 3.

LECTIONARY: SEPTUAGESIMA-EASTER WEEK.

	Sarum.	York.	Hereford.
Septuagesima.			
Wed.	2 Cor 4:3-12. Mark 9:29-36.	Heb. 6:4-9. as S.	Heb. 4:11-16. as S.
Fri.	2 Cor. 4:13-18. Matt. 12:30-37.	Heb. 4:11-16. Luke 9:51-56.	1 John 5:10-20. as Y.
Sexagesima.			
Wed.	2 Cor. 1:23-2:11. Mark 4:1-9.	Heb. 12:3-9. Matt. 12:30-37.	as Y. as Y.
Fri.	2 Cor. 5:11-15. Luke 17:20-37.	Heb. 12:11-17. as S.	as Y. Luke 17:20-26.

From Ash Wednesday daily readings begin, in both the English and the Roman rites. They are uniform across the rites, including that of Rome, except for occasional variations.

	All rites.		
	Epistle.	Gospel.	Variants.
Quinquagesima.			
Ash Wed.	Joel 2:12-19.	Matt. 6:16-21.	
Thurs.	Isaiah 38:1-6.	Matt. 8:5-13.	
Fri.	Isaiah 58:1-9.	Matt. 5:43-6:4.	
Sat.	Isaiah 58:9-14.	Mark 6:47-56.	
Lent 1 (Invocavit).			
Mon.	Ezech. 34:11-16.	Matt. 25:31-46.	
Tues.	Isaiah 55:6-11.	Matt. 21:10-17.	
Wed.	See Ember Days.		
Thurs.	Ezech. 18:1-19.	John 8:31-47.	Ezech. 18:1-9 (R). Matt. 15:21-28 (R).
Fri.	See Ember Days.		
Sat.	See Ember Days.		

Table 3 (contd.)

	All rites. Epistle.	Gospel.	Variants.
Lent 2 (Reminiscere).			
Mon.	Dan. 9:15-19.	John 8:21-29.	
Tues.	3 Reg. 17:8-16.	Matt. 23:1-12.	
Wed.	Esther 13:9-11,15-17.	Matt. 20:17-28.	
Thurs.	Jer. 17:5-10.	John 5:30-47.	Luke 16:19-31 (R).
Fri.	Gen. 37:6-22.	Matt. 21:33-46.	
Sat.	Gen. 27:6-39.	Luke 15:11-32.	
Lent 3 (Oculi).			
Mon.	4 Reg. 5:1-15.	Luke 4:23-30.	
Tues.	4 Reg. 4:1-7.	Matt. 18:15-22.	
Wed.	Exod. 20:12-24.	Matt. 15:1-20.	
Thurs.	Jer. 7:1-7.	John 6:27-35.	Luke 4:38-44 (R). John 6:15-35 (H).
Fri.	Num. 20:2-3,6-13.	John 4:5-42.	Num. 20:6-13 (H,Y).
Sat.	Dan. 13:1-62.	John 8:1-11.	
Lent 4 (Laetare).			
Mon.	3 Reg. 3:16-28.	John 2:13-25.	
Tues.	Exod. 32:7-14.	John 7:14-31.	
Wed.	Ezech. 36:23-28. (3 readings in all rites.)	Isaiah 1:16-19.	John 9:1-38.
Thurs.	4 Reg. 4:25-38.	John 5:17-29.	Luke 7:11-16 (R).
Fri.	3 Reg. 17:17-24.	John 11:1-45.	
Sat.	Isaiah 49:8-15.	John 8:12-20.	
Passion Week.			
Mon.	Jonah 3:1-10.	John 7:32-39.	
Tues.	Dan. 14:28-42.	John 7:1-13.	
Wed.	Lev. 19:11-19.	John 10:22-38.	

Table 3 (contd.)

	All rites. Epistle.	Gospel.	Variants.
Thurs.	Dan. 3:35-45.	John 7:40-53.	Luke 7:36-50 (R,H).
Fri.	Jer. 17:13-18.	John 11:47-54.	
Sat.	Jer. 18:18-23.	John 6:54-72.	John 12:10-36 (R).
Holy Week.			
Mon.	Isaiah 50:5-10.	John 12:1-36.	John 12:1-9 (R).
Tues.	Jer. 11:18-20.	Mark Passion: 14:1-15:46.	
Wed.	Isaiah 62:11-63:7. (3 readings in all rites.)	Isaiah 53.	Luke Passion: 22:1-23:53.
Maundy Thurs.	1 Cor. 11:20-32.	John 13:1-15.	
Good Fri.	Hosea 6:1-6. (3 readings in all rites.)	Exod. 12:1-11.	John Passion: 18,19.
Holy Sat.	See Easter Vigil.		
Easter Week.			
Mon.	Acts 10:37-43.	Luke 24:13-35.	
Tues.	Acts 13:26-33.	Luke 24:36-47.	
Wed.	Acts 3:12-19.	John 21:1-14.	
Thurs.	Acts 8:26-40.	John 20:11-18.	
Fri.	1 Pet. 3:18-22.	Matt. 28:16-20.	
Sat.	1 Pet. 2:1-10.	John 20:1-9.	

APPENDIX II: Table 4.

LECTIONARY: CHRISTMAS AND EPIPHANY.

	All rites.	Variants.
Christmas Eve. (24 Dec.)	Isaiah 62:1-4. Rom. 1:1-6. Matt. 1:18-21.	No O.T. reading (R).
Christmas Day. (25 Dec.)		
Midnight Mass.	Isaiah 9:2,6-7. Titus 2:11-15. Luke 2:1-14.	No O.T. reading (R).
Dawn Mass.	Isaiah 61:1-3,62:11-12. Titus 3:4-7. Luke 2:15-20.	No O.T. reading (R).
Day Mass.	Isaiah 52:6-10. Heb. 1:1-12. John 1:1-14.	No O.T. reading (R).
St. Stephen. (26 Dec.)	Acts 6:8-10,7:54-59. Matt. 23:34-39.	
St. John. (27 Dec.)	Ecclus. 15:1-6. John 21:19-24.	
Holy Innocents. (28 Dec.)	Rev. 14:1-5. Matt. 2:13-18.	
St. Thomas. (29 Dec.)	Heb. 5:1-4,6. John 10:11-16.	Luke 19:12-28 (S).
Sixth Day of Christmas.	Gal. 4:1-7. Luke 2:33-40.	Titus 3:4-7 (H). Luke 2:15-20 (H).
St. Silvester. (31 Dec.)	Ecclus. 44:16-45:20. *or* 50:4-25. Matt. 25:14-23.	2 Titus 4:1-8 (R). Luke 12:35-40 (R).
Circumcision. (1 Jan.)	Titus 2:11-15. Luke 2:21.	
Octave of St. Stephen. (2 Jan.)	as 26 Dec.	
Octave of St. John. (3 Jan.)	as 27 Dec.	
Octave of Holy Innocents. (4 Jan.)	as 28 Dec.	

Table 4 (contd.)

Vigil of Epiphany. (5 Jan.)	Titus 3:4-7. Matt. 2:19-23.	
Epiphany. (6 Jan.)	Isaiah 60:1-6. Matt. 2:1-12.	
Octave of Epiphany. (13 Jan.)	Isaiah* Matt. 3:13-17.	Isaiah 60:1-6 (R). John 1:29-34 (Y,R).

* Isaiah 25:1; 35:1,2,10; 41:18; 52:13; 12:3-5.

APPENDIX II: Table 5.

LECTIONARY: EMBER DAYS; VIGILS OF EASTER AND PENTECOST.

EMBER DAYS (Jejunium Quattuor Temporum).

	All Rites.	Variants.
Advent.		
Wed.	Isaiah 2:2-5. Isaiah 7:10-15. Luke 1:26-38.	
Fri.	Isaiah 11:1-5. Luke 1:39-47.	
Sat.	Isaiah 19:20-22. Isaiah 35:1-7. Isaiah 40:9-11. Isaiah 45:1-8. Dan. 3:49-87. 2 Thess. 2:1-8. Luke 3:1-6.	
Lent.		
Wed.	Exod. 24:12-18. 3 Kings 19:3-8. Matt. 12:38-50.	
Fri.	Ezech. 18:20-28. John 5: 1-15.	
Sat.	Deut. 26:15-19. Deut. 11:22-25. 2 Macc. 1:23,2-5. Ecclus. 36:1-10. Dan. 3:49-87. 1 Thess. 5:14-23. Matt. 17:1-9.	
Pentecost.		
Wed.	Wisdom 1:1-7. Acts 2:14-21. John 6:44-52.	Acts 2:14-21 (R). Acts 5:12-16 (R).
Fri.	Acts 2:22-28. Luke 5:17-26.	Joel 2:23-27 (R).

Table 5 (contd.)

	All Rites.	Variants.
Sat.	Joel 2:28-32.	Isaiah 44 (Y).
	Lev. 23:9-21.	Joel 2:23-27 (Y).
	Deut. 26:1-3,7-11.	Joel 2:28-32 (Y).
	Lev. 26:3-12.	Lev. 23:9-21 (Y).
	Dan. 3:49-87.	
	Acts 13:44-52.	Rom. 5:1-5 (R,Y).
	Luke 4:38-43.	

September.

Wed.	Amos 9:13-15.	
	2 Esdras 8:1-10.	
	Mark 9:16-28.	
Fri.	Osea 14:2-10.	
	Luke 7:36-50.	
Sat.	Lev. 23:26-32.	
	Lev. 23:39-43.	
	Micah 7:14,16,18-20.	
	Zacc. 8:1,14-19.	
	Dan. 3:49-87.	
	Heb. 9:2-12.	
	Luke 13:6-17.	

EASTER VIGIL.

	Sarum.	York.	Hereford.
1.	Gen. 1:1-2:2.	as S.	as S.
2.	Exod. 14:24-15:1.	as S.	as S.
3.	Isaiah 4:1-6.	as S.	as S.
4.	Deut. 31:22-30.	as S.	Isa. 54:17-55:11.
5.	--	Isa. 54:17-55:11.	--
	Col. 3:1-4.	as S.	as S.
	Matt. 28:1-7.	as S.	as S.

Rome: next page.

Table 5 (contd.)

Rome.

1. Gen. 1:1-2:2 (as S.).
2. Gen. 5-8, passim.
3. Gen. 22:1-19.
4. Exod. 14:24-15:1 (as S.2).
5. Isa. 54:17-55:11 (as Y.).
6. Baruch 3:8-38.
7. Ezech. 37:1-14.
8. Isaiah 4:1-6 (as S.3).
9. Exod. 12:1-11
10. Jonah 3:1-10.
11. Deut. 31:22-30 (as S.4).
12. Dan.3: 49-87. (as Ember Days).

Col. 3:1-4 (as S.).
Matt. 28:1-7 (as S.).

VIGIL OF PENTECOST.

Sarum.	York.	Hereford.
1. Gen. 22:1-19.	as S.	as S.
2. Deut. 31:22-30.	Exod. 14:24-15:1.	as S.
3. Isaiah 4:1-6.	as S.	as S.
4. Baruch 3:8-38.	Deut. 31:22-30.	as S.
5. --	Baruch 3:8-38.	--
Acts 19:1-8.	as S.	as S.
John 14:15-21.	as S.	as S.

Rome.

1. Gen. 22:1-19.
2. Exod. 14:24-15:1 .
3. Deut. 31:22-30.
4. Isaiah 4:1-6.
5. Baruch 3:8-38.
6. Ezech. 37:1-14.

Acts 19:1-8 (as S.).
John 14:15-21 (as S.).

APPENDIX III: Table 1.

SARUM MISSALS.

	Date (approx.).	Library and MS.
1)	12 C.(lectionary)	Salisbury Cath. MS 149.
2)	13 C.	John Rylands MS 24.
3)	13 C.: 1247-54.	Cambr. U. L. MS Gg.3.21.
4)	13 C., second half.	Bologna U. L. MS 2565.
5)	13 C., last quarter.	Paris Arsenal MS 135.
6)	13 C., end.	Cambr. U. L. MS Kk.2.6.
7)	14 C., copy of 13 C.	BL. MS Add. 37519.
8)	14 C., beginning.	Cambr. U. L. MS Ff.2.31.
9)	14 C.: 1319-32.	Cambr. U. L. MS Ee.2.2.
10)	14 C., before 1332.	Pierpont Morgan MS 8.
11)	14 C., first half.	BL. MS Lansdowne 432.
12)	14 C.	Cambr. U. L. MS Dd.1.15.
13)	14 C.	Chetham, Manch. MS 41027.
14)	14 C.	Cambr. U. L. MS Dd.8.41.
15)	14 C., third quarter.	Bodley MS Lat. liturg. b.4.
16)	14 C.: 1380-1400.	Fitzwilliam MS 33.
17)	14 C.: ?1384	Munich MS Clm. 705.
18)	14 C., end.	Bodley MS Barlow 5.
19)	14 C., end.	BL. MS Harl. 4919.
20)	14 C., end.	BL. MS Harl. 2787.
21)	14 C.: 1383-98.	Trinity, Oxf. MS 8.
22)	14 C., second half.	BL. MS Add. 11414.
23)	14 C.: 1398.	CCC, Oxf. MS 394.
24)	14-15 C.: 1383-1456.	All Souls, Oxf. MS 302.
25)	14-15 C.: 1385-1415.	Rome, Pal. MS 501.
26)	14-15 C.	Oriel, Oxf. MS 75.
27)	14-15 C.	Caius, Cambr. MS 146.
28)	14-15 C.	Bodley MS Douce 218.
29)	14-15 C.	Cambr. U. L. MS Ff.4.44.
30)	14-15 C.	Cambr. U. L. MS Add. 451.
31)	15 C., beginning.	Ch.Ch., Oxf. MS 87.
32)	15 C., beginning.	Lambeth MS 213.
33)	15 C., beginning.	Bodley MS Lat. liturg. b.3.
34)	15 C., beginning.	Bodley MS Laud Misc. 253.
35)	15 C., beginning.	Bodley MS Hatton 1.
36)	15 C., beginning.	Bodley MS Rawl. A. 387a.
37)	15 C., beginning.	Bodley MS Misc. liturg. 381.
38)	15 C., early.	Cambr. U. L. MS Gg.5.24.
39)	15 C., after 1411.	Bodley MS Rawl. C.142.
40)	15 C., first quarter.	BL. MS Add. 25585.
41)	15 C., first quarter.	Bodley MS Laud Misc. 302.
42)	15 C., first third.	BL. MS Harl. 2984.
43)	15 C., first third.	BL. MS Harl. 3866.
44)	15 C., first half.	BL. MS Arundel 109.
45)	15 C., first half.	Bodley MS Jones 47.

Table 1 (contd.)

46)	15 C., first half.	Bodley MS Laud Misc. 164.
47)	15 C., mid.	Durham Cath. MS A.3.32.
48)	15 C., mid.	Bristol Museum. [no No.]
49)	15 C.	Bodley MS Tanner 4.
50)	15 C.	Trinity, Cambr. MS B.11.3.
51)	15 C.	Bodley MS Rawl. C.168.
52)	15 C.	Bodley MS Barlow 1.
53)	15 C.	BL. MS Add. 29884.
54)	15 C.	BL. MS Egerton 2677.
55)	15 C.	Trinity, Cambr. MS B.10.14.
56)	15 C.	Bodley MS Rawl. lit. e.43.
57)	15 C.	Keble, Oxf. MS 58.
58)	15 C.	Emmanuel, Cambr. MS 242 (III.3.9).
59)	15 C.	Trinity, Cambr. MS 250 (B.11.11).
60)	15 C.	London Guildhall MS 515.
61)	15 C.	Pierpont Morgan MS 9.
62)	15 C.	Cambr. U. L. MS Ll.2.12.
63)	15 C., second third.	Bodley MS Misc. liturg. 372.
64)	15 C.: 1480-1502.	All Souls, Oxf. MS 11.
65)	16 C.: 1521-47.	BL. MS Add. 21974.

APPENDIX III: Table 2.

SARUM BREVIARIES.

	Date.	Library and MS.
1)	13 C., early.	Bodley MS Bodley 547.
2)	13 C.	Bodley MS Rawl. C.73.
3)	14 C., early.	Edinburgh U. L. MS 26.
4)	14 C., early.	Edinburgh U. L. MS 27.
5)	14 C., after 1327.	BL. MS Add. 22397.
6)	14 C.: 1322-25.	BL. MS Stowe 12.
7)	14 C.	Bodley MS Hatton 63.
8)	14 C.	BL. MS Sloane 1909.
9)	14 C.	Clare, Cambr. MS Kk.3.7.
10)	14 C.	St. John's, Cambr. MS 146 (F.9).
11)	14 C.	Peterhouse, Cambr. MS 270.
12)	14 C.	Stonyhurst MS 40.
13)	14 C., chiefly.	Cambr. U. L. MS Add. 3474-5.
14)	14 C., late.	Stonyhurst MS 44.
15)	14 C., late.	Stonyhurst MS 52.
16)	14 C., late.	Caius, Cambr. MS 394.
17)	14 C., late.	Salisbury Cath. MS 224.
18)	14 C., late.	Bodley MS 976.
19)	14 C., late.	BL. MS Harl. 1512-13.
20)	14 C./15 C.	BL. MS Harl. 929.
21)	14 C., end / 15 C.	Bodley MS Laud Misc. 3a.
22)	14 C., end / 15 C.	Bodley MS Lat.liturg. b.14.
23)	15 C., beginning.	BL. MS Royal 2.A.xiv.1.
24)	15 C., beginning.	BL. MS Sloane 2466.
25)	15 C., beginning.	BL. MS Harl. 1797.
26)	15 C.: 1405.	BL. MS Harl. 2946.
27)	15 C., early.	BL. MS Harl. 587.
28)	15 C., early.	BL. MS Add. 32427.
29)	15 C., early.	BL. MS Harl. 2785.
30)	15 C., early.	BL. MS Harl. 3335.
31)	15 C., early.	BL. MS Harl. 4958.
32)	15 C., early.	Cambr. U. L. MS Add. 4500.
33)	15 C., first half.	Bodley MS Canon. liturg. 215.
34)	15 C., mid.	Bodley MS Lat.liturg. f.29.
35)	15 C.	BL. MS 17,009.
36)	15 C.	BL. MS Harl. 7398.
37)	15 C.	Bodley MS Jones 47.
38)	15 C.	Lambeth MS 69.
39)	15 C.	Univ., Oxf. MS 22.
40)	15 C.	St. John's, Oxf. MS 179.
41)	15 C.	Durham Cath. MS A.iv.20.
42)	15 C.	Worcs. Cath. MS Q.10.
43)	15 C.	St. John's, Cambr. MS 215 (H.13).
44)	15 C.	Fitzwilliam MS Maclean 65.
45)	15 C.: 1460.	Salisbury Cath. MS 152.
46)	15 C.: 1470.	Cambr. U. L. MS Dd.10.66.

Table 2 (contd.)

47)	15 C., late.	York Minster. MS XVI. O. 12.
48)	15 C., end / 16 C.	BL. MS Royal 2.A. xii.

ANTIPHONALS.

1)	15 C., early.	Bodley MS. 984.
2)	15 C., end.	Bodley MS Laud Misc. 229.

DIURNALS.

1)	14 C.	Cambr. U. L. MS Add. 3057.
2)	15 C.	Cambr. U. L. MS Kk.6.21.

SARUM ORDINALS.

1)	14 C.	Salisbury Cath. MS 175.
2)	14 C.	BL. MS Harl. 1001.
3)	14 C., end.	CCC, Oxf. MS 44.
4)	15 C., early.	BL. MS Harl. 2911.
5)	15 C.	BL. MS Harl. 130.

APPENDIX III: Table 3.

YORK RITE: ALL MAJOR LITURGICAL MSS.

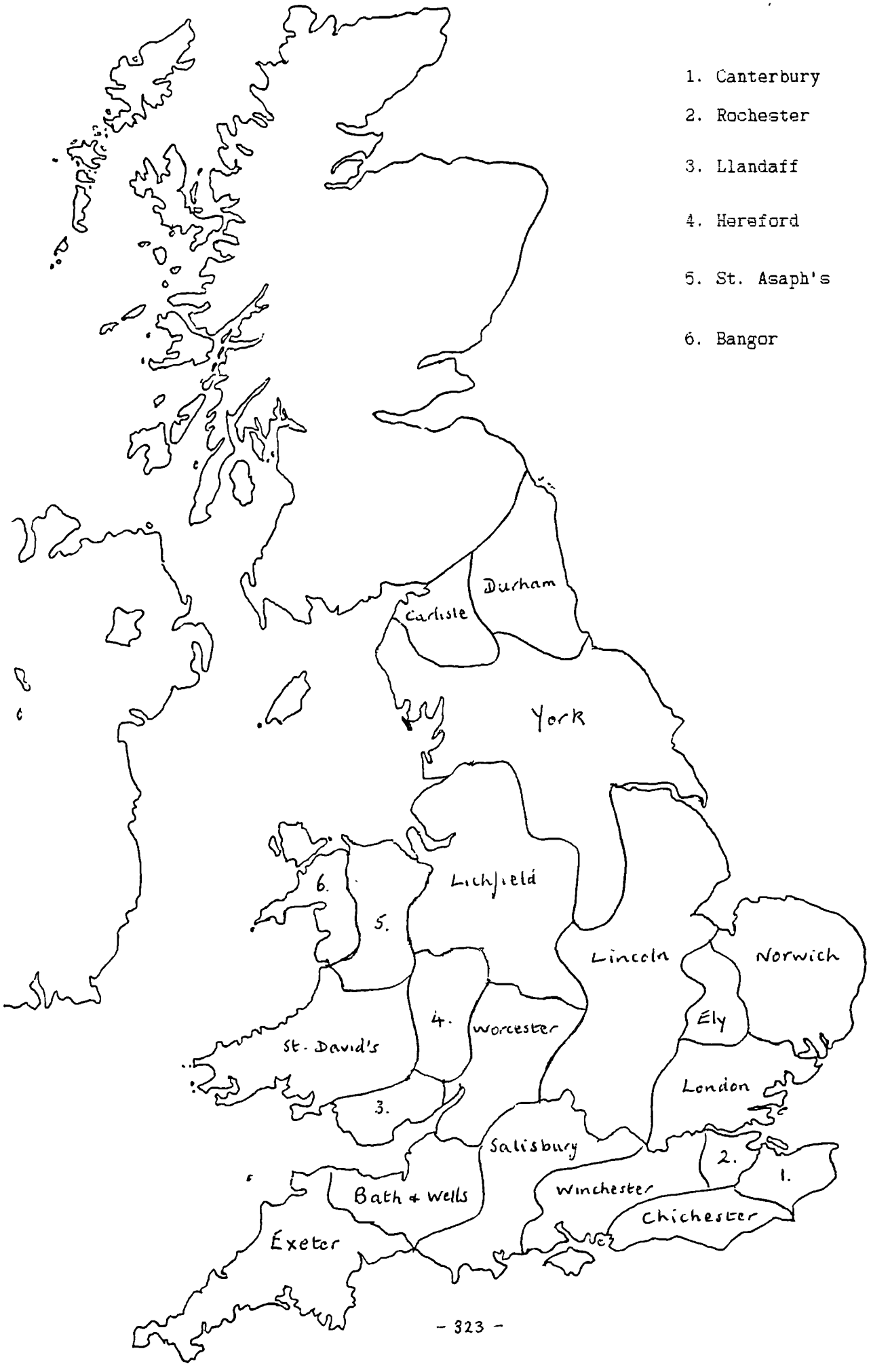
	Date (approx.).	Library and MS.
MISSALS.		
1)	14 C.	York Minster MS XVI.I.3.
2)	14 C.	Stonyhurst MS 3.
3)	14 C./15 C.	Trinity, Dublin MS 83 (B.3.4).
4)	15 C., early.	BL. MS Add. 43380.
5)	15 C.	Univ., Oxf. MS 78 b.
6)	15 C.	York Minster MS XVI.A.9.
7)	15 C.	Sid. Sussex, Cambr. MS 33 (Δ.2.11).
8)	15 C., late.	Fitzwilliam MS James 34.
BREVIARIES.		
1)	14 C.	York Minster MS XVI.O.9.
2)	14 C.	York Minster MS XVI.O.23.
3)	14 C., late.	Bodley MS Gough Liturg. 1.
4)	14 C., late.	BL. MS Add. 37511.
5)	14 C., end.	Bodley MS Laud Misc. 84.
6)	14 C./15 C., early.	BL. MS Add. 34190.
7)	14 C./15 C.	Trinity, Dublin MS 85 (B.3.11).
8)	15 C., early.	BL. MS Add. 38624.
9)	15 C., early.	BL. MS Add. 30511.
10)	15 C.	BL. Egerton 2025.
11)	15 C.	Cambr. U. L. Add. 3110.
DIURNAL.		
1)	15 C., early.	BL. MS Add. 39676.
PROCESSIONAL.		
1)	14 C.	Bodley MS E. Mus. 126.
MANUALS.		
1)	14 C.	Cambr. U. L. MS Ee.4.19.
2)	15 C., beginning.	Bodley MS Gough Liturg. 5.
3)	15 C.	York Minster MS XVI.M.4.
4)	15 C.	Lincoln Cath. MS 87.
5)	15 C.	BL. MS Harl. 2431.
PONTIFICALS.		
1)	10 C. (Abp. Egbert)	Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS [no No.]
2)	16 C. (Abp. Bainbridge)	Cambr. U. L. MS Ff.6.1.

APPENDIX III: Table 4.

HEREFORD RITE. ALL MSS.

	Date.	Library and MS.
MISSALS.		
1)	13 C.	Cambr. U. L. MS Kk.2.6.
2)	14 C.	BL. MS Add. 39675.
3)	14 C.	Univ., Oxf. MS 78 a.
4)	14 C., late.	Worcs. Cath. MS F.161.
BREVIARIES.		
1)	13 C., end.	Hereford Cath. MS [no No.]
2)	14 C.	Worcs. Cath. MS [no No.]
OTHER.		
1) Pontifical.		
	12 C.	Magdalen, Oxf. MS 226.
2) Antiphonal.		
	13 C.	Worcs. Cath. MS F.160.
3) Ordinal.		
	14 C., beginning.	BL. MS Harl. 2983.
4) Gradual.		
	15 C.	BL. MS Harl. 3965.
5) Consuetudinary.		
		Hereford Cath. MS [no No.]

TABLE 5: THE DIOCESES OF ENGLAND AND WALES



APPENDIX IV. LITURGICAL MATERIAL FROM THE COMMON OF WOMEN SAINTS: Mass readings and material from the Office.

I. READINGS and related material.

Mass Gospel:

Matt. 13:44-52 (Virgin Martyr, all rites; Virgin, York).
Matt. 25:1-13 (Virgin, all rites except York).

Mass Epistle: one from the following alternatives:

1. Ecclus. 51:1-8 (Dickinson ed.)
2. Ecclus. 51:1-12 (Legg ed.)
3. Ecclus. 51:9-12 (Dickinson ed.)
4. Ecclus. 51:13-17 (Legg ed.)
5. Ecclus. 34:1-22
6. Wisdom 8:1-4
7. I Cor. 7:25-34
8. II Cor. 10:17-11:2
9. Isaiah 61:10-11, 62:5.

distributed as follows:
Sarum: readings 1-5 (Martyr); 6, 8, 9 (non-Martyr).
Hereford: readings 1, 3, 5 (Martyr); 6, 8 (non-Martyr).
York: readings 1, 3, 5-8 (Martyr); 6 (non-Martyr).
Benedictine: readings 2, 4, 6, 8 (Martyr); 9 (non-Martyr).

Office: Short Chapters at the Day Hours (based on the Epistle).

Sarum: Ecclus. 51:13; 51:15; 51:16.
Hereford: Ecclus.51:1; 51:15; 51:16.
York: II Cor. 10:17-18; II Cor. 11:2; Wisdom 8:1.
Hyde (Benedictine): as Sarum.

Matins Readings: Homiletic (based on the Gospel).

Sarum: a) Virgin Martyr.
Ambrose, *De Virginibus*, Bk. I.
Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, 11.
b) Virgin.
Augustine, *De Verbis Domini*, 23 (Sermo 93).
Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, 12.

York: Haymo of Faversham?
Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, 12 or 11.

Hereford: Ambrose, mixed with Gregory 12.
Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, 11.

Antiphons "in evangelium" (based on the Gospel).

Sarum.
1. 1st Vespers: Simile est regnum caelorum sagenae missae in mare, et ex omni genere piscium congreganti, quam cum impleta esset educentes et secus litus sedentes elegerunt bonos in vasa sua: malos autem foras miserunt.
2. Lauds: Veniente Sponso prudens virgo praeparata introivit cum eo ad nuptias.
3. 2nd Vespers: Simile est regnum caelorum homini negociatori quaerenti bonas margaritas, inventa una preciosa margarita dedit omnia sua et comparavit eam.

York.
1. 1st Vespers: as Sarum. 3. 2nd Vespers: as Sarum.
2. Lauds: Quinque prudentes virgines acceperunt oleum in vasis suis cum lampadibus, media autem nocte clamor factus est: ecce sponsus venit exite obviam Christo domino.

Hereford.
1. 1st Vespers: as Sarum. 2. Lauds = Sarum, 2nd Vespers.
3. 2nd Vespers = York, Lauds.

Hyde (Benedictine).
1. 1st Vespers: as Sarum. 2. Lauds: as York.
3. 2nd Vespers: Prudens et vigilans virgo, qualis cum sponso illo qui te elegit de mundo, quam pulchra es, quam mirabilis, quanta luce spectabilis inter Syon iuvenculas et ierusalem filias, thalamo gaudes regio, coniuncta dei filio. or: as Sarum.

II. PSALM ANTIPHONS and related material.

Matins invitatory (all rites).
Agnum sponsum virginum: venite adoremus dominum Jesum Christum.

Matins Psalm antiphons.

Sarum.
1. Ante thorum hujus virginis frequentate nobis dulcia cantica dragmatis.
2. Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias.
3. Favus distillans labia tua, sponsa; mel et lac sub lingua tua; et odor vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor thuris.
4. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende, prospere procede, et regna.
5. Adjuvabit eam Deus vultu suo, Deus in medio ejus, non commovebitur.
6. Unguentum effusum nomen tuum; ideo adulescentulae dilexerunt te nimis.
7. Haec est quae nescivit thorum in delicto, habebit fructum in refectione animarum sanctarum.
8. Nigra sum, sed formosa, filiae Hierusalem: ideo dilexit me rex et introduxit me in cubiculum suum.
9. O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate.

York.
1. as Sarum ; 2. = Sarum 8; 3.= Sarum 9;
4. as Sarum ; 5. as Sarum.
6. Haec est virgo sancta atque gloriosa quia Dominus omnium dilexit eam.
7. Inventa bona margarita dedit omnia sua et comparavit eam.
8. Prudentes virgines aptate lampades vestras ecce sponsus venit exite obviam ei.
9. Virgines sancte dei orate pro nobis ut scelerum veniam per vos accipere mereamur.

Hereford.
1. as Sarum; 2. = Sarum 9; 3.= Sarum 6;
4. as Sarum; 5. as Sarum. 8. as Sarum.
6. Sicut letantium omnium nostrum habitatio est in te.
7. Dum esset rex in accubitu suo, nardus mea dedit odorem suum.
9. Surge, aquilo, et veni, auster; perfla hortum meum, et fluant aromata illius.

Hyde (Benedictine).
1. as Sarum. 2. = Sarum 8. 4. as Sarum.
5. as Sarum. 8. = Hereford 7. 10. = York 6.
12. = Sarum 9.
3. Sicut malus inter ligna silvarum, sic amica mea inter filias.
6. Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te.
7. Adiuro vos filie ierusalem si inueneritis dilectum meum ut annuncietis ei quia amore langueo.
9. Revertere, revertere, Sulamitis; revertere, revertere, ut intueamur te.
11. Dignare me laudare te virgo sacrata da michi virtutem contra hostes tuos.

Psalm Antiphons: Lauds and Little Hours.

Sarum.
1. Haec est virgo sapiens quam Dominus vigilantem invenit.
2. Haec est virgo sapiens et una de numero prudentum.
3. = York, Matins ant. 6.
4. Benedico te Pater Domini mei Jesu Christi, quia per Filium tuum tentationis ignis extinctus est a latere meo.
5. Veni sponsa Christi, accipe coronam quam tibi Dominus praeparavit in aeternum.

York.
1. = Sarum 2. 2. = Sarum 5. 3. = Sarum 1.
4. Media nocte clamor factus est, ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei.
5. Tunc surrexerunt omnes virgines illae et ornaverunt lampades suas.

Hereford.
1. as Sarum. 2. as Sarum. 3. = Sarum 5.
4. as York. 5. as York.

Hyde (Benedictine).
1. = Sarum 2. 2. = Sarum 5. 3. = Sarum 1.
4. as York. 5. as York.

Psalm Antiphons: Vespers.

Sarum, both Vespers (single antiphon on all five psalms).

Haec est virgo prudens quae veniente sponso aptavit lampades suas et introivit cum Domino ad nuptias.

York.

1. Ista est virgo sapiens quam deus invenit vigilantem quae accepta lampade sumpsit secum oleum et veniente domino introivit cum eo ad nuptias.
2. = Sarum, Matins 6. 3. = Hereford, Matins 7.
4. Leva ejus sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me.
5. = Sarum, Matins 7.

Hereford (single antiphon on all five psalms).

1st Vespers. = York, Vespers 1.
2nd Vespers. = Sarum, Lauds 1.

Hyde (four ants. and psalms).

1. = Sarum, Matins 1. 2. = Sarum, Matins 8.
3. = Hyde, Matins 8. 4. = Hyde, Matins 3.

Matins Responds.

Sarum.

1. R. Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. Propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. V. Dilexisti iustitiam, et odisti iniquitatem. R. Propterea...

2. R. Propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et iustitiam. Et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua. V. Audi, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam; et obliviscere populum tuum, et domum patris tui. R. Et deducet...

3. R. Dilexisti iustitiam, et odisti iniquitatem, propterea Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo laeticiae. V. Propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et iustitiam. R. Unxit...

4. R. Haec est virgo sapiens, quam Dominus vigilantem invenit, quae acceptis lampadibus sumpsit oleum secum. Et veniente Domino introivit cum eo ad nuptias. V. Inventa una margarita, dedit omnia sua, et comparavit eam. R. Et veniente...

5. a) Virgin Martyr.
R. Veni, sponsa Christi, accipe coronam quam tibi Dominus praeparavit, pro cujus amore sanguinem tuum fudisti. Et cum angelis in paradisum introibis. V. Veni electa mea, et ponam in te thronum meum, quia concupivit rex speciem tuam. R. Et cum angelis...
b) Virgin not a Martyr.
R. Induit me Dominus vestimento salutis, et idumento leticiae circumdedit me. Et tanquam sponsam decoravit me corona. V. Tradidit auribus meis inaestimabiles margaritas et circundedit me vernantibus atque coruscantibus gemmis. R. Et tamquam sponsam...

6. R. Audi, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam; et obliviscere populum tuum, et domum patris tui: et concupiscet rex speciem tuam. Quoniam ipse est Dominus deus tuus. V. Induet te Dominus vestimento salutis, et idumento leticiae circundabit te. R. Quoniam ipse...

7. R. Veni electa mea, et ponam in te thronum meum. Quia concupivit rex speciem tuam. V. Audi, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam. R. Quia concupivit...

8. R. Pulchra facie sed pulchrior fide, beata es virgo respuens mundum. Laetaberis cum angelis, intercede pro omnibus nobis. V. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua. R. Laetaberis...

9. R. Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum seculi contempsi propter amorem Domini mei Jesu Christi. Quem vidi, quem amavi, quem credidi, quem dilexi. V. Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum: dico ego opera mea regi. R. Quem vidi.

York.

1. as Sarum. 2. as Sarum. 3. = Sarum 9.

4. R. = Sarum 7; V. = Sarum 8. 5. = Sarum 3.

6. R. Audivi vocem de caelo venientem, venite omnes virgines sapientissimae. Oleum recondite in vasis vestris, dum sponsus advenerit. V. Media nocte clamor factus est, ecce sponsus venit. R. Oleum recondite...

7. = Sarum 4.

8. R. Offerentur regi virgines dominopost eam, proximae eius offerentur tibi. In laeticia et exsultatione. V. Prudentes virgines aptate lampades vestras: ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei. R. In laeticia...

9. R. O mater nostra ter sancta quaterque beata. Cum prece devota famulantum suscipe vota. V. Jam Christo juncta sponsoque tuo sociata. R. Cum prece...

Hereford.

1. as Sarum. 2. as Sarum.

3. R. = Sarum 7; V. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende, prospere procede, et regna.

4. = Sarum 3. 5. = Sarum 4. 6. as Sarum.

7. = Sarum 5 (a). 8. as Sarum. 9. as Sarum.

Hyde (Benedictine).

1. as Sarum. 2. = Sarum 3. 3. = Sarum 2.
4. as Sarum. 6. = York 4. 8. = Sarum 9.
11. = York 6. 12. = York 6 (again).

5. R. Non eris inter virgines fatuas dicit dominus sed eris inter virgines prudentes accipientes oleum leticiae cum lampadibus suis. Obviantes obviaverunt sponso et sponsae cum palma virginitatis. V. Venientes autem venient cum exaltatione portantes manipulos suos.

7. R.= Sarum, 2nd Vespers ant. in evan. V. Haec est virgo sapiens quam dominus invenit vigilantem.

9. Simile est regnum caelorum decem virginibus quae accipientes lampades suas. Exierunt obviam sponso et sponsae.
V. Prudentes vero virgines acceperunt oleum in vasis suis cum lampadibus.

10. R. = York 8. V. = York, Lauds 4.